<3670006945001 1
<3670006945001 1
Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

2053 Bibl. Mont
12

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

A NEW EDITION.

BASIL:

PRINTED BY J. J. TOURNEISEN.

MDCCLXXXIX.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second — Siege, Aſſault, and final Conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the Turks. — Death of Conſtantine Palæologus. — Servitude of the Greeks. — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the Eaſt. — Conſternation of Europe. — Conqueſts and Death of Mahomet the Second.

A. D.		Page
	Character of Mahomet II.	1
1451 — 1481.	His Reign	4
1451	Hoſtile Intentions of Mahomet	5
1452	He builds a Fortreſs on the Boſphorus	9
	The Turkiſh War	10
1452, 1453.	Preparations for the Siege of Conſtantinople	12
	The great Cannon of Mahomet	14
1453	Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Conſtantinople	16
	Forces of the Turks	18
	— of the Greeks	19
1452	Falſe Union of the two Churches	20
	Obſtinacy and Fanaticiſm of the Greeks	22
1453	Siege of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II.	24
	Attack and Defence	27

A. D.		Page
	Succour and Victory of four Ships	29
	Mahomet tranſports his Navy over Land	32
	Diſtreſs of the City	35
	Preparations of the Turks for the general Aſſault	36
	Laſt Farewel of the Emperor and the Greeks	38
	The general Aſſault	39
	Death of the Emperor Conſtantine Palæologus	44
	Loſs of the City and Empire	ib.
	The Turks enter and pillage Conſtantinople	ib.
	Captivity of the Greeks	46
	Amount of the Spoil	48
	Mahomet II. viſits the City, St. Sophia, the Palace, etc.	51
	His Behaviour to the Greeks	52
	He repeoples and adorns Conſtantinople	54
	Extinction of the Imperial Families of Comnenus and Palæologus	57
1460	Loſs of the Morea	58
1461	— of Trebizond	59
1453	Grief and Terror of Europe	61
1481	Death of Mahomet II.	64

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. — Temporal Dominion of the Popes. — Seditions of the City. — Political Hereſy of Arnold of Breſcia. — Reſtoration of the Republic. — The Senators. — Pride of the Romans. — Their Wars. — They are deprived of the Election and Preſence of the popes, who retire to Avignon. — The Jubilee. — Noble Families of Rome. — Feud of the Colonna and Urſini.

1100 — 1500.	State and Revolutions of Rome	65
800 — 1100.	The French and German Emperors of Rome	66

A. D.		Page
	Authority of the Popes in Rome	68
	From Affection	69
	— Right	ib.
	— Virtue	70
	— Benefits	ib.
	Inconſtancy of Superſtition	71
	Seditions of Rome againſt the Popes	73
1086—1305.	Succeſſors of Gregory VII.	ib.
1099—1118.	Paſcal II.	74
1118, 1119.	Gelaſius II.	75
1144, 1145.	Lucius II.	76
1181—1185.	Lucius III.	ib.
1119—1124.	Caliſtus II.	77
1130—1143.	Innocent II.	ib.
	Character of the Romans by St. Bernard	ib.
1140	Political Hereſy of Arnold of Breſcia	78
1144—1154.	He exhorts the Romans to reſtore the Republic	80
1155	His Execution	82
1144	Reſtoration of the Senate	83
	The Capitol	85
	The Coin	86
	The Præfect of the City	ib.
	Number and Choice of the Senate	87
	The Office of Senator	88
1252—1258.	Brancaleone	90
1265—1278.	Charles of Anjou	91
1281	Pope Martin IV.	92
1328	The emperor Lewis of Bavaria	ib.
	Addreſſes of Rome to the Emperors	ib.
1144	Conrad III.	ib.
1155	Frederic I.	94
	Wars of the Romans againſt the neighbouring Cities	98
1167	Battle of Tuſculum	100
1234—	of Viterbo	ib.
	The Election of the Popes	101

A. D.		Page
1179	Right of the Cardinals eſtabliſhed by Alexander III.	102
1274	Inſtitution of the Conclave by Gregory X.	103
	Abſence of the Popes from Rome	105
1294—1303.	Boniface VIII.	106
1309	Tranſlation of the Holy See to Avignon	107
1300	Inſtitution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year	109
1350	The ſecond Jubilee	111
	The nobles or Barons of Rome	112
	Family of Leo the Jew	113
	The Colonna	114
	And Urſini	117
	Their hereditary Feuds	118

CHAP. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch. — Reſtoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi. — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulſion and Death. — Return of the Popes from Avignon. — Great Schiſm of the Weſt. — Reunion of the Latin Church. — Laſt Struggles of Roman Liberty. — Statutes of Rome. — Final Settlement of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

1304—1374.	Petrarch	120
1341	His poetic Coronation at Rome	122
	Birth, Character, and patriotic Deſigns of Rienzi	124
1347	He aſſumes the Government of Rome	127
	With the Title and Office of Tribune	129
	Laws of the good Eſtate	ib.
	Freedom and Proſperity of the Roman Republic	132
	The Tribune is reſpected in Italy, etc.	134
	And celebrated by Petrarch	136
	His Vices and Follies	ib.

A. D.		Page
1347	The Pomp of his Knighthood	138
	And Coronation	140
	Fear and Hatred of the Nobles of Rome	ib.
	They oppoſe Rienzi in Arms	142
	Defeat and Death of the Colonna	144
	Fall and Flight of the Tribune Rienzi	145
1347—1354.	Revolutions of Rome	146
	Adventures of Rienzi	148
1351	A Priſoner at Avignon	149
1354	Rienzi, Senator of Rome	ib.
	His Death	152
1355	Petrarch invites and upbraids the Emperor Charles IV.	ib.
	He ſolicits the Popes of Avignon to fix their Reſidence at Rome	153
1367—1370.	Return of Urban V.	154
1377	Final Return of Gregory XI.	155
1378	His Death	156
	Election of Urban VI.	ib.
	Election of Clement VII.	157
1378—1418.	Great Schiſm of the Weſt	159
	Calamities of Rome	ib.
1392—1407.	Negociations for Peace and Union	160
1409	Council of Piſa	162
1414—1418.	Council of Conſtance	163
	Election of Martin V.	164
1417	Martin V.	ib.
1431	Eugenius IV.	ib.
1447	Nicholas V.	ib.
1434	Laſt Revolt of Rome	165
1452	Laſt Coronation of a German Emperor, Frederic III.	166
	The Statutes and Government of Rome	ib.
1453	Conſpiracy of Porcaro	169
	Laſt Diſorders of the Nobles of Rome	172
1500	The Popes acquire the abſolute Dominion of Rome	ib.

A. D. Page

The Eccleſiaſtical Government . . 175
1585—1590. Sixtus V. 176

CHAP. LXXI.

Proſpect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century. — Four Cauſes of Decay and Deſtruction. — Example of the Coliſeum. — Renovation of the City. — Concluſion of the whole Work.

1430 View and Diſcourſe of Poggius from the Capitoline Hill 178
His Deſcription of the Ruins . . . 179
Gradual Decay of Rome . . . 181
Four Cauſes of Deſtruction . . . 182
I. The Injuries of Nature . . . 183
Hurricanes and Earthquakes . . . ib.
Fires . . . . . ib.
Inundations 185
II. The hoſtile Attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians 186
III. The Uſe and Abuſe of the Materials 188
IV. The domeſtic Quarrels of the Romans 192
The Coliſeum or Amphitheatre of Titus . 196
Games of Rome 197
1332 A Bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum . . . ib.
Injuries 200
And Conſecration of the Coliſeum . . 201
Ignorance and Barbariſm of the Romans ib.
1420 Reſtoration and Ornaments of the City . 203
Final Concluſion 206

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second. — Siege, Aſſault, and final Conqueſt, of Conſtantinople by the Turks. — Death of Conſtantine Palæologus. — Servitude of the Greeks. — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the Eaſt: — Conſternation of Europe. — Conqueſts and Death of Mahomet the Second.

THE ſiege of Conſtantinople by the Turks attracts our firſt attention to the perſon and character of the great deſtroyer. Mahomet the ſecond was the ſon of the ſecond Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Chriſtian and princeſs, ſhe is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the

CHAP. LXVIII. Character of Mahomet II.

CHAP. LXVIII. haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran[2]: his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages[3], the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry[4] or prose[5] might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves?

The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West[6], excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy[7]. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness[8]. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

obſtacles, and the atchievements, Mahomet the ſecond muſt bluſh to ſuſtain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progreſs was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Perſian king.

His reign, A. D. 1451, February 9— A. D. 1481, July 2.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice taſted of royalty, and twice deſcended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of oppoſing his father's reſtoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that ſalutary meaſure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a feſtival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reſide in the government of Magneſia. Before the end of ſix weeks, he was recalled by a ſudden meſſage from the divan, which announced the deceaſe of Amurath, and the mutinous ſpirit of the Janizaries. His ſpeed and vigour commanded their obedience: he paſſed the Helleſpont with a choſen guard; and at the diſtance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams, and cadhis, the ſoldiers and the people, fell proſtrate before the new ſultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he aſcended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cauſe of ſedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers [9]. The ambaſſadors of Europe and Aſia ſoon appeared to congratulate his

acceſſion and ſolicit his friendſhip; and to all he ſpoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the ſolemn oaths and fair aſſurances, with which he ſealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was aſſigned for the annual payment of three hundred thouſand aſpers, the penſion of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his requeſt in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the ſeverity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's houſehold: the expences of luxury were applied to thoſe of ambition, and an uſeleſs train of ſeven thouſand falconers was either diſmiſſed from his ſervice or enliſted in his troops. In the firſt ſummer of his reign, he viſited with an army the Aſiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the ſubmiſſion, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the ſmalleſt obſtacle from the execution of his great deſign [10].

Hoſtile intentions of Mahomet, A. D. 1451.

The Mahometan, and more eſpecially the Turkiſh caſuiſts, have pronounced that no promiſe can bind the faithful againſt the intereſt and duty of their religion; and that the ſultan may abrogate his own treaties and thoſe of his predeceſſors. The juſtice and magnanimity of Amurath had ſcorned this immoral privilege; but his ſon, though the proudeſt of men, could ſtoop from ambition to the baſeſt arts of diſſimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he inceſſantly ſighed for the poſſeſſion of

CHAP. LXVIII.

Conſtantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiſcretion, afforded the firſt pretence of the fatal rupture [11]. Inſtead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambaſſadors purſued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increaſe, of their annual ſtipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a ſecret friend of the Chriſtians, was conſtrained to deliver the ſenſe of his brethren. "Ye fooliſh and miſerable "Romans," ſaid Calil, "we know your devices, "and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the "ſcrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws "can bind and no obſtacles can reſiſt: and if you eſcape from his hands, give praiſe to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chaſtiſement of your "ſins. Why do ye ſeek to affright us by vain and "indirect menaces? Releaſe the fugitive Orchan, "crown him ſultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm againſt "us the nations of the Weſt: and be aſſured, "that you will only provoke and precipitate "your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambaſſadors were alarmed by the ſtern language of the vizir, they were ſoothed by the courteous audience and friendly ſpeeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet aſſured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redreſs the grievances, and conſult the true intereſt, of the Greeks. No ſooner had he repaſſed the Helleſpont than he iſſued a mandate to ſuppreſs their penſion, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon; in this meaſure he betrayed an hoſtile

mind; and the ſecond order announced, and in ſome degree commenced, the ſiege of Conſtantinople. In the narrow paſs of the Boſphorus, an Aſiatic fortreſs had formerly been raiſed by his grandfather: in the oppoſite ſituation, on the European ſide, he reſolved to erect a more formidable caſtle; and a thouſand maſons were commanded to aſſemble in the ſpring on a ſpot named Aſomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis [12]. Perſuaſion is the reſource of the feeble; and the feeble can ſeldom perſuade: the ambaſſadors of the emperor attempted, without ſucceſs, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his deſign. They repreſented, that his grandfather had ſolicited the permiſſion of Manuel to build a caſtle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the ſtreight, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the ſubſiſtence of the city. "I form no enterprize," replied the perfidious ſultan, "againſt the city; "but the empire of Conſtantinople is meaſured "by her walls. Have you forgot the diſtreſs to "which my father was reduced, when you "formed a league with the Hungarians; when "they invaded our country by land, and the "Helleſpont was occupied by the French gallies? "Amurath was compelled to force the paſſage "of the Boſphorus; and your ſtrength was not "equal to your malevolence. I was then a child "at Adrianople; the Moſlems trembled; and for

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

" a while the *Gabours* [13] insulted our disgrace.
" But when my father had triumphed in the
" field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on
" the western shore, and that vow it is my duty
" to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye
" the power, to control my actions on my own
" ground? For that ground *is* my own: as far
" as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited
" by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the
" Romans. Return, and inform your king that
" the present Ottoman is far different from his
" predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their*
" wishes; and that *he* performs more than *they*
" could resolve. Return in safety — but the next
" who delivers a similar message may expect to
" be flayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank [14], had determined to unsheathe the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed;

and the Greeks ſhut their eyes againſt the impending danger, till the arrival of the ſpring and the ſultan decided the aſſurance of their ruin. CHAP. LXVIII.

Of a maſter who never forgives, the orders are ſeldom diſobeyed. On the twenty-ſixth of March, the appointed ſpot of Aſomaton was covered with an active ſwarm of Turkiſh artificers; and the materials by ſea and land, were diligently tranſported from Europe and Aſia [15]. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the ſtones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thouſand maſons was aſſiſted by two workmen; and a meaſure of two cubits was marked for their daily taſk. The fortreſs [16] was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a ſtrong and maſſy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the ſea-ſhore: a thickneſs of twenty-two feet was aſſigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a ſolid platform of lead. Mahomet himſelf preſſed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finiſhing their reſpective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meaneſt labour was ennobled by the ſervice of God and the ſultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a deſpot, whoſe ſmile was the hope of fortune, and whoſe frown was the meſſenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irreſiſtible progreſs of the

He builds a fortreſs on the Boſphorus, A. D. 1452, March.

CHAP. LXVIII.

work; and vainly ſtrove, by flattery and gifts, to aſſuage an implacable foe, who fought, and ſecretly fomented, the ſlighteſt occaſion of a quarrel. Such occaſions muſt ſoon and inevitably be found. The ruins of ſtately churches, and even the marble columns which had been conſecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without ſcruple by the profane and rapacious Moſlems; and ſome Chriſtians, who preſumed to oppoſe the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Conſtantine had ſolicited a Turkiſh guard to protect the fields and harveſts of his ſubjects: the guard was fixed; but their firſt order was to allow free paſture to the mules and horſes of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they ſhould be moleſted by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horſes to paſs the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt: the inſult was reſented; and ſeveral of both nations were ſlain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet liſtened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unſuſpecting reapers were maſſacred by the ſoldiers.

The Turkiſh war, June;

Till this provocation, Conſtantinople had been open to the viſits of commerce and curioſity: on the firſt alarm, the gates were ſhut; but the emperor, ſtill anxious for peace, releaſed on the third day his Turkiſh captives [17]; and expreſſed, in a laſt meſſage, the firm reſignation of a Chriſtian and a ſoldier. "Since neither oaths, nor

"treaty, nor ſubmiſſion, can ſecure peace, pur- CHAP.
"ſue," ſaid he to Mahomet, "your impious LXVIII.
"warfare. My truſt is in God alone: if it ſhould
"pleaſe him to mollify your heart, I ſhall rejoice
"in the happy change; if he delivers the city
"into your hands, I ſubmit without a murmur
"to his holy will. But until the judge of the
"earth ſhall pronounce between us, it is my
"duty to live and die in the defence of my
"people." The ſultan's anſwer was hoſtile and deciſive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he ſtationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ſhips of every nation that ſhould paſs within the reach of their cannon. A September 1;
Venetian veſſel, refuſing obedience to the new lords of the Boſphorus, was ſunk with a ſingle bullet. The maſter and thirty ſailors eſcaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *porte:* the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the hiſtorian Ducas [18] beheld, at Demotica, their bodies expoſed to the wild beaſts. The ſiege of Conſtantinople was deferred till the enſuing ſpring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Conſtantine. At this A. D. 1435,
æra of calamity, one of theſe princes, the deſpot January 17.
Thomas, was bleſſed or afflicted with the birth of a ſon; "the laſt heir," ſays the plaintive Phranza, "of the laſt ſpark of the Roman em-
"pire [19]."

CHAP. LXVIII.

Preparations for the siege of Constantinople, A. D. 1452, September—A. D. 1453, April.

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople [20] the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels [21]; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the

laſt time, his wife and children; filled a cup CHAP. with pieces of gold, haſtened to the palace, LXVIII. adored the ſultan, and offered, according to the Oriental cuſtom, the ſlight tribute of his duty and gratitude [22]. "It is not my wiſh," ſaid Mahomet, "to reſume my gifts, but rather to "heap and multiply them on thy head. In "my turn I aſk a preſent far more valuable and "important;—Conſtantinople." As ſoon as the vizir had recovered from his ſurpriſe, "the ſame God," ſaid he, "who has already given thee "ſo large a portion of the Roman empire, will "not deny the remnant, and the capital. His "providence, and thy power, aſſure thy ſucceſs; "and myſelf, with the reſt of thy faithful "ſlaves, will ſacrifice our lives and fortunes." "Lala [23]," (or preceptor), continued the ſultan, "do you ſee this pillow? all the night, in my "agitation, I have pulled it on one ſide and the "other; I have riſen from my bed, again have "I lain down; yet ſleep has not viſited theſe "weary eyes. Beware of the gold and ſilver of "the Romans: in arms we are ſuperior; and "with the aid of God, and the prayers of the "prophet, we ſhall ſpeedily become maſters of "Conſtantinople." To ſound the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, he often wandered through the ſtreets alone and in diſguiſe: and it was fatal to diſcover the ſultan, when he wiſhed to eſcape from the vulgar eye. His hours were ſpent in delineating the plan of the hoſtile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what ſpot he ſhould

CHAP. LXVIII.

erect his batteries; on which ſide he ſhould aſſault the walls; where he ſhould ſpring his mines; to what place he ſhould apply his ſcaling-ladders: and the exerciſes of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

The great cannon of Mahomet.

Among the implements of deſtruction, he ſtudied with peculiar care the recent tremendous diſcovery of the Latins; and his artillery ſurpaſſed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almoſt ſtarved in the Greek ſervice, deſerted to the Moſlems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkiſh ſultan. Mahomet was ſatisfied with the anſwer to his firſt queſtion, which he eagerly preſſed on the artiſt. "Am I able to "caſt a cannon capable of throwing a ball or "ſtone of ſufficient ſize to batter the walls of "Conſtantinople? I am not ignorant of their "ſtrength, but were they more ſolid than thoſe "of Babylon, I could oppoſe an engine of "ſuperior power: the poſition and management "of that engine muſt be left to your engineers." On this aſſurance, a foundery was eſtabliſhed at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of braſs ordnance of ſtupendous, and almoſt incredible, magnitude; a meaſure of twelve palms is aſſigned to the bore; and the ſtone bullet weighed above ſix hundred pounds [24]. A vacant place before the new palace was choſen for the firſt experiment; but, to prevent the ſudden and miſchievous effects of aſtoniſhment and fear, a

proclamation was iſſued, that the cannon would be diſcharged the enſuing day. The exploſion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the ſpot where it fell, it buried itſelf a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this deſtructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of ſixty oxen: two hundred men on both ſides were ſtationed to poiſe and ſupport the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to ſmooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philoſopher [25] derides on this occaſion the credulity of the Greeks, and obſerves, with much reaſon, that we ſhould always diſtruſt the exaggerations of a vanquiſhed people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the ſtroke would be feeble and impotent, ſince not a fifteenth part of the maſs could be inflamed at the ſame moment. A ſtranger as I am to the art of deſtruction, I can diſcern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickneſs of the fire to the ſound, or even the conſequence, of a ſingle exploſion. Yet I dare not reject the poſitive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it ſeem improbable, that the firſt artiſts, in their rude

CHAP. LXVIII.

and ambitious efforts, ſhould have tranſgreſſed the ſtandard of moderation. A Turkiſh cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, ſtill guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the uſe be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A ſtone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once diſcharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the diſtance of ſix hundred yards it ſhivered into three rocky fragments, traverſed the ſtreight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again roſe and bounded againſt the oppoſite hill [26].

Mahomet II. forms the ſiege of Conſtantinople, A. D. 1453, April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the Eaſt, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the aſſiſtance of earth and heaven. But the inviſible powers were deaf to his ſupplications; and Chriſtendom beheld with indifference the fall of Conſtantinople, while ſhe derived at leaſt ſome promiſe of ſupply from the jealous and temporal policy of the ſultan of Egypt. Some ſtates were too weak, and others too remote; by ſome the danger was conſidered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Weſtern princes were involved in their endleſs and domeſtic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exaſperated by the falſehood or obſtinacy of the Greeks. Inſtead of employing in their favour the arms and treaſures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accompliſhment of his prophecy. Perhaps he

was

was ſoftened by the laſt extremity of their diſtreſs; but his compaſſion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Conſtantinople had fallen, before the ſquadrons of Genoa and Venice could ſail from their harbours [27]. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek iſlands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoeſe colony of Galata negociated a private treaty; and the ſultan indulged them in the deluſive hope, that by his clemency they might ſurvive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and ſome Byzantine nobles, baſely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reſerved for the Turks, the ſecret treaſures which might have raiſed in their defence whole armies of mercenaries [28]. The indigent and ſolitary prince prepared however to ſuſtain his formidable adverſary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his ſtrength was inadequate to the conteſt. In the beginning of the ſpring, the Turkiſh vanguard ſwept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Conſtantinople: ſubmiſſion was ſpared and protected; whatever preſumed to reſiſt was exterminated with fire and ſword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Meſembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; Selybria alone deſerved the honours of a ſiege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were inveſted by land, launched their boats, pillaged the oppoſite coaſt of Cyzicus, and ſold their captives in the public

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and proſtrate: he firſt halted at the diſtance of five miles: and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial ſtandard; and, on the ſixth day of April, formed the memorable ſiege of Conſtantinople.

Forces of the Turks.

The troops of Aſia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour: the Janizaries in the front were ſtationed before the ſultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment, and a ſubordinate army incloſed the ſuburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoeſe. The inquiſitive Philelphus, who reſided in Greece about thirty years before the ſiege, is confident, that all the Turkiſh forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of ſixty thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot; and he upbraids the puſillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to an handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular eſtabliſhment of the *Capiculi*[29], the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treaſury. But the baſhaws, in their reſpective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of ſpoil; and the ſound of the holy trumpet invited a ſwarm of hungry and fearleſs fanatics, who might contribute at leaſt to multiply the terrors, and in a firſt attack to blunt the ſwords,

of the Chriſtians. The whole maſs of the Turkiſh powers is magnified by Ducas, Calcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand men; but Phranza was a leſs remote and more accurate judge; and his preciſe definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thouſand does not exceed the meaſure of experience and probability [30]. The navy of the beſiegers was leſs formidable: the Propontis was overſpread with three hundred and twenty ſail; but of theſe no more than eighteen could be rated as gallies of war; and the far greater part muſt be degraded to the condition of ſtore-ſhips and tranſports, which poured into the camp freſh ſupplies of men, ammunition, and proviſions. In her laſt decay, Conſtantinople was ſtill peopled with more than an hundred thouſand inhabitants; but theſe numbers, are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they moſtly conſiſted of mechanics, of prieſts, of women, and of men devoid of that ſpirit which even women have ſometimes exerted for the common ſafety. I can ſuppoſe, I could almoſt excuſe, the reluctance of ſubjects to ſerve on a diſtant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expoſe his life in the defence of his children and his property has loſt in ſociety the firſt and moſt active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the ſtreets and houſes, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The

CHAP. LXVIII. of the Greeks.

CHAP. LXVIII.

lists were entrusted to Phranza [31]; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, crossbows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

False union of the two churches. A. D. 1452, Dec. 12.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced

each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation [32]. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Obſtinacy and fanaticiſm of the Greeks.

But the dreſs and language of the Latin prieſt who officiated at the altar, were an object of ſcandal; and it was obſerved with horror, that he conſecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the ſacrament. A national hiſtorian acknowledges with a bluſh, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himſelf, were ſincere in this occaſional conformity [33]. Their haſty and unconditional ſubmiſſion was palliated by a promiſe of future reviſal; but the beſt, or the worſt, of their excuſes was the confeſſion of their own perjury. When they were preſſed by the reproaches of their honeſt brethren, "Have patience," they whiſpered, "have patience till God ſhall have delivered "the city from the great dragon who ſeeks to "devour us. You ſhall then perceive whether "we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthuſiaſm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either ſex, and of every degree, ruſhed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius [34], to conſult the oracle of the church. The holy man was inviſible; entranced, as it ſhould ſeem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had expoſed on the door of his cell, a ſpeaking tablet; and they ſucceſſively withdrew after reading theſe tremendous words: "O miſerable Romans, "why will ye abandon the truth; and why, "inſtead of confiding in God, will ye put your

" truſt in the Italians? In loſing your faith, you CHAP.
" will loſe your city. Have mercy on me, O LXVIII.
" Lord! I proteſt in thy preſence, that I am
" innocent of the crime. O miſerable Romans,
" conſider, pauſe, and repent. At the ſame
" moment that you renounce the religion of
" your fathers, by embracing impiety, you
" ſubmit to a foreign ſervitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the preſent and future aſſociates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greateſt part of the clergy and people. From the monaſtery, the devout Greeks diſperſed themſelves in the taverns; drank confuſion to the ſlaves of the pope; emptied their glaſſes in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and beſought her to defend againſt Mahomet, the city which ſhe had formerly ſaved from Choſroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, " What occaſion have we for ſuccour, or union, " or Latins? far from us be the worſhip of the " Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkiſh conqueſt, the nation was diſtracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the ſeaſon of Lent, the approach of Eaſter, inſtead of breathing charity and love, ſerved only to fortify the obſtinacy and influence of the zealots. The confeſſors ſcrutinized and alarmed the conſcience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was

CHAP. LXVIII.

impoſed on thoſe, who had received the communion from a prieſt, who had given an expreſs or tacit conſent to the union. His ſervice at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and ſimple ſpectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure ſpectacle, the virtue of the ſacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of ſudden death, to invoke the aſſiſtance of their prayers or abſolution. No ſooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin ſacrifice, than it was deſerted as a Jewiſh ſynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vaſt and gloomy ſilence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had ſo often ſmoked with a cloud of incenſe, blazed with innumerable lights, and reſounded with the voice of prayer and thankſgiving. The Latins were the moſt odious of heretics and infidels; and the firſt miniſter of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Conſtantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat [35]. A ſentiment ſo unworthy of Chriſtians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and ſupport of his ſubjects; and their native cowardice was ſanctified by reſignation to the divine decree, or the viſionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Siege of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II.

Of the triangle which compoſes the figure of Conſtantinople, the two ſides along the ſea were made inacceſſible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the

two waters, the baſis of the triangle, the land ſide was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Againſt this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witneſs, prolongs to the meaſure of ſix miles [36], the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after diſtributing the ſervice and command of the moſt perilous ſtations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the firſt days of the ſiege, the Greek ſoldiers deſcended into the ditch, or ſallied into the field; but they ſoon diſcovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Chriſtian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after theſe bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their miſſile weapons. Nor ſhould this prudence be accuſed of puſillanimity. The nation was indeed puſillanimous and baſe; but the laſt Conſtantine deſerves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inſpired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries ſupported the honour of the Weſtern chivalry. The inceſſant vollies of lances and arrows were accompanied with the ſmoke, the ſound, and the fire, of their muſketry and cannon. Their ſmall arms diſcharged at the ſame time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the ſize of a walnut; and, according to the cloſeneſs of the ranks and the force of the powder, ſeveral breaſt-plates and bodies were tranſpierced by the ſame ſhot. But the Turkiſh approaches were ſoon ſunk in trenches, or covered with ruins.

CHAP. LXVIII. A. D. 1453, April 6—May 29.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Each day added to the ſcience of the Chriſtians; but their inadequate ſtock of gunpowder was waſted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in ſize or number; and if they poſſeſſed ſome heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, leſt the aged ſtructure ſhould be ſhaken and overthrown by the exploſion [37]. The ſame deſtructive ſecret had been revealed to the Moſlems; by whom it was employed with the ſuperior energy of zeal, riches, and deſpotiſm. The great cannon of Mahomet has been ſeparately noticed; an important and viſible object in the hiſtory of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almoſt of equal magnitude [38]; the long order of the Turkiſh artillery was pointed againſt the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the moſt acceſſible places; and of one of theſe it is ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it diſcharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the ſultan, we may diſcern the infancy of the new ſcience. Under a maſter who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than ſeven times in one day [39]. The heated metal unfortunately burſt; ſeveral workmen were deſtroyed; and the ſkill of an artiſt was admired who bethought himſelf of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each exploſion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault[40]. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch, was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air[41]. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the

CHAP. LXVIII. Attack and defence.

CHAP. LXVIII.

discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant vollies were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pullies to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-

ſeven thouſand prophets ſhould not have compelled him to believe that ſuch a work, in ſo ſhort a time, could have been accompliſhed by the infidels. CHAP. LXVIII.

The generoſity of the Chriſtian princes was cold and tardy; but in the firſt apprehenſion of a ſiege, Conſtantine had negociated, in the iſles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the moſt indiſpenſable ſupplies. As early as the beginning of April, five [42] great ſhips, equipped for merchandiſe and war, would have ſailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obſtinately from the north [43]. One of theſe ſhips bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoeſe; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with ſoldiers and mariners, for the ſervice of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the ſecond day, a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, carried them through the Helleſpont and the Propontis: but the city was already inveſted by ſea and land; and the Turkiſh fleet, at the entrance of the Boſphorus, was ſtretched from ſhore to ſhore, in the form of a creſcent, to intercept, or at leaſt to repel, theſe bold auxiliaries. The reader who has preſent to his mind the geographical picture of Conſtantinople, will conceive and admire the greatneſs of the ſpectacle. The five Chriſtian ſhips continued to advance with joyful ſhouts, and a full preſs, both of ſails and oars, againſt an hoſtile fleet of hree hundred veſſels; and the rampart, the camp,

Succour and victory of four ships.

CHAP. LXVIII.

the coaſts of Europe and Aſia, were lined with innumerable ſpectators, who anxiouſly awaited the event of this momentous ſuccour. At the firſt view that event could not appear doubtful; the ſuperiority of the Moſlems was beyond all meaſure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour muſt inevitably have prevailed. But their haſty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the ſultan: in the height of their proſperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the ſea to the infidels [44]; and a ſeries of defeats, a rapid progreſs of decay, has eſtabliſhed the truth of their modeſt confeſſion. Except eighteen gallies of ſome force, the reſt of their fleet conſiſted of open boats, rudely conſtructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and deſtitute of cannon; and, ſince courage ariſes in a great meaſure from the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, the braveſt of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Chriſtian ſquadron, five ſtout and lofty ſhips were guided by ſkilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiſed in the arts and perils of the ſea. Their weight was directed to ſink or ſcatter the weak obſtacles that impeded their paſſage: their artillery ſwept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adverſaries, who, with the deſign of boarding, preſumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the ſide of the ableſt navigators. In this conflict, the

Imperial veſſel, which had been almoſt overpowered, was reſcued by the Genoeſe; but the Turks, in a diſtant and a cloſer attack, were twice repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mahomet himſelf ſat on horſeback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and preſence, by the promiſe of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The paſſions of his ſoul, and even the geſtures of his body[45], ſeemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he ſpurred his horſe with a fearleſs and impotent effort into the ſea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I muſt repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they loſt above twelve thouſand men in the ſlaughter of the day. They fled in diſorder to the ſhores of Europe and Aſia, while the Chriſtian ſquadron, triumphant and unhurt, ſteered along the Boſphorus, and ſecurely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boaſted that the whole Turkiſh power muſt have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain baſhaw, found ſome conſolation for a painful wound in his eye, by repreſenting that accident as the cauſe of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the deſpotiſm of the prince or people,

CHAP. LXVIII.

misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod [46]: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan [47].

Mahomet transports his navy over land.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised if the ambition and jealousy

of

of the ſecond vizir had not oppoſed the perfidious advice of Calil Baſhaw, who ſtill maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeleſs, unleſs a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inacceſſible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ſhips, more than twenty of a ſmaller ſize, with ſeveral gallies and ſloops; and, inſtead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval ſally, and a ſecond encounter in the open ſea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous caſt, of tranſporting by land his lighter veſſels and military ſtores from the Boſphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The diſtance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overſpread with thickets; and, as the road muſt be opened behind the ſuburb of Galata, their free paſſage or total deſtruction muſt depend on the option of the Genoeſe. But theſe ſelfiſh merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the laſt devoured; and the deficiency of art was ſupplied by the ſtrength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of ſtrong and ſolid planks; and to render them more ſlippery and ſmooth, they were anointed with the fat of ſheep and oxen. Fourſcore light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were diſ-embarked on the Boſphorus ſhore; arranged ſucceſſively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

pullies. Two guides or pilots were ſtationed at the helm, and the prow, of each veſſel; the ſails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by ſong and acclamation. In the courſe of a ſingle night, this Turkiſh fleet painfully climbed the hill, ſteered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the ſhallow waters of the harbour, far above the moleſtation of the deeper veſſels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the conſternation and confidence which it inſpired: but the notorious, unqueſtionable, fact was diſplayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations [48]. A ſimilar ſtratagem had been repeatedly practiſed by the ancients [49]; the Ottoman gallies (I muſt again repeat) ſhould be conſidered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the diſtance, the obſtacles and the means, the boaſted miracle [50] has perhaps been equalled by the induſtry of our own times [51]. As ſoon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he conſtructed, in the narroweſt part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of caſks and hogſheads; joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a ſolid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largeſt cannon, while the fourſcore gallies, with troops and ſcaling-ladders, approached the moſt acceſſible ſide, which had formerly been ſtormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Chriſtians

has been accuſed for not deſtroying theſe un- CHAP.
finiſhed works; but their fire, by a ſuperior LXVIII.
fire was controlled and ſilenced; nor were they
wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the veſ-
ſels as well as the bridge of the ſultan. His vi-
gilance prevented their approach; their foremoſt
galliots were ſunk or taken; forty youths, the
braveſt of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly
maſſacred at his command; nor could the empe-
ror's grief be aſſuaged by the juſt though cruel
retaliation, of expoſing from the walls the heads
of two hundred and ſixty Muſulman captives. Diſtreſs of the city.
After a ſiege of forty days, the fate of Conſtan-
tinople could no longer be averted. The dimi-
nutive garriſon was exhauſted by a double attack:
the fortifications, which had ſtood for ages againſt
hoſtile violence, were diſmantled on all ſides by
the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened;
and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers
had been levelled with the ground. For the
payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Con-
ſtantine was compelled to deſpoil the churches
with the promiſe of a fourfold reſtitution; and
his ſacrilege offered a new reproach to the ene-
mies of the union. A ſpirit of diſcord impaired
the remnant of the Chriſtian ſtrength: the Genoeſe
and Venetian auxiliaries aſſerted the pre-eminence
of their reſpective ſervice; and Juſtiniani and the
great duke, whoſe ambition was not extinguiſhed
by the common danger, accuſed each other of
treachery and cowardice.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Preparations of the Turks for the general assault, May 26.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city [52]. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours*, the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats: but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives,

of the perilous enterprize. Fear is the firſt prin- CHAP.
ciple of a deſpotic government; and his menaces LXVIII.
were expreſſed in the Oriental ſtyle, that the fu-
gitives and deſerters, had they the wings of a bird ", ſhould not eſcape from his inexorable juſtice. The greateſt part of his baſhaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Chriſtian parents; but the glories of the Turkiſh name were perpetuated by ſucceſſive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the ſpirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and diſcipline. In this holy warfare, the Moſlems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with ſeven ablutions; and to abſtain from food till the cloſe of the enſuing day. A crowd of derviſhes viſited the tents to inſtil the deſire of martyrdom, and the aſſurance of ſpending an immortal youth amidſt the rivers and gardens of paradiſe, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally truſted to the efficacy of temporal and viſible rewards. A double pay was promiſed to the victorious troops; "The "city and the buildings," ſaid Mahomet, "are "mine: but I reſign to your valour the captives "and the ſpoil, the treaſures of gold and beauty: "be rich and be happy. Many are the provin- "ces of my empire: the intrepid ſoldier who firſt "aſcends the walls of Conſtantinople, ſhall be "rewarded with the government of the faireſt "and moſt wealthy; and my gratitude ſhall ac- "cumulate his honours and fortunes above the "meaſure of his own hopes." Such various and

CHAP. LXVIII.

potent motives diffuſed among the Turks a general ardour, regardleſs of life and impatient for action: the camp reechoed with the Moſlem ſhouts of, "God is God, there is but one God, "and Mahomet is the apoſtle of God [54];" and the ſea and land, from Galata to the ſeven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Laſt farewel of the emperor and the Greeks.

Far different was the ſtate of the Chriſtians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the puniſhment, of their ſins. The celeſtial image of the Virgin had been expoſed in ſolemn proceſſion; but their divine patroneſs was deaf to their entreaties; they accuſed the obſtinacy of the emperor for refuſing a timely ſurrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and ſighed for the repoſe and ſecurity of Turkiſh ſervitude. The nobleſt of the Greeks, and the braveſt of the allies, were ſummoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general aſſault. The laſt ſpeech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire [55]: he promiſed, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuſe the hope which was extinguiſhed in his own mind. In this world all was comfortleſs and gloomy; and neither the goſpel nor the church have propoſed any conſpicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the ſervice of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a ſiege, had armed theſe warriors with the courage of deſpair; and the

pathetic ſcene is deſcribed by the feelings of the hiſtorian Phranza, who was himſelf preſent at this mournful aſſembly. They wept, they embraced; regardleſs of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his ſtation, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and ſome faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a moſch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the ſacrament of the holy communion. He repoſed ſome moments in the palace, which reſounded with cries and lamentations; ſolicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured "; and mounted on horſeback to viſit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The diſtreſs and fall of the laſt Conſtantine are more glorious than the long proſperity of the Byzantine Cæſars.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The general aſſault, May 29.

In the confuſion of darkneſs an aſſailant may ſometimes ſucceed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and aſtrological knowledge of Mahomet adviſed him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Chriſtian æra. The preceding night had been ſtrenuouſly employed: the troops, the cannon, and the faſcines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts preſented a ſmooth and level paſſage to the breach; and his fourſcore gallies almoſt touched with the prows and their ſcaling-ladders, the leſs defenſible

CHAP. LXVIII.

walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, ſilence was enjoined: but the phyſical laws of motion and ſound are not obedient to diſcipline or fear; each individual might ſuppreſs his voice and meaſure his footſteps; but the march and labour of thouſands muſt inevitably produce a ſtrange confuſion of diſſonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the cuſtomary ſignal of the morning gun, the Turks aſſaulted the city by ſea and land; and the ſimilitude of a twined or twiſted thread has been applied to the cloſeneſs and continuity of their line of attack [57]. The foremoſt ranks conſiſted, of the refuſe of the hoſt, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleneſs of age or childhood, of peaſants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulſe drove them onwards to the wall: the moſt audacious to climb were inſtantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Chriſtians, was idly waſted on the accumulated throng. But their ſtrength and ammunition were exhauſted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the ſlain; they ſupported the footſteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more ſerviceable than the life. Under their reſpective baſhaws and ſanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were ſucceſſively led to the charge: their progreſs was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the

Greeks ſtill maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his ſoldiers to atchieve, by a laſt effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries aroſe, freſh, vigorous and invincible. The ſultan himſelf on horſeback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the ſpectator and judge of their valour: he was ſurrounded by ten thouſand of his domeſtic troops, whom he reſerved for the deciſive occaſions, and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous miniſters of juſtice were poſted behind the line, to urge, to reſtrain, and to puniſh; and if danger was in the front, ſhame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial muſic of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of ſounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and ſpirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reaſon and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all ſides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of ſmoke, which could only be diſpelled by the final deliverance or deſtruction of the Roman empire. The ſingle combats of the heroes of hiſtory or fable, amuſe our fancy and engage our affections: the ſkilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a neceſſary, though pernicious, ſcience. But in the uniform and odious

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene, of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate. loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is "slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is "necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I "will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by "the same road which God has opened to the "Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. [58]. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians: the double walls were reduced by the

cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of ſeveral miles, ſome places muſt be found more eaſy of acceſs, or more feebly guarded; and if the beſiegers could penetrate in a ſingle point, the whole city was irrecoverably loſt. The firſt who deſerved the ſultan's reward was Haſſan the Janizary, of gigantic ſtature and ſtrength. With his ſcymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he aſcended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen periſhed in the bold adventure. Haſſan and his twelve companions had reached the ſummit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he roſe on one knee, and was again oppreſſed by a ſhower of darts and ſtones. But his ſucceſs had proved that the atchievement was poſſible: the walls and towers were inſtantly covered with a ſwarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increaſing multitudes. Amidſt theſe multitudes, the emperor [59], who accompliſhed all the duties of a general and a ſoldier, was long ſeen, and finally loſt. The nobles, who fought round his perſon, ſuſtained till their laſt breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be "found a Chriſtian to cut off my head [60]?" and his laſt fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels [61]. The prudent deſpair of Conſtantine caſt away the purple: amidſt the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

buried under a mountain of the ſlain. After his death, reſiſtance and order were no more: the Greeks fled toward the city; and many were preſſed and ſtifled in the narrow paſs of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks ruſhed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the ſtreets, they were ſoon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the ſide of the harbour [62]. In the firſt heat of the purſuit, about two thouſand Chriſtians were put to the ſword; but avarice ſoon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they ſhould immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his choſen bands had not prepared them for a ſimilar oppoſition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a ſiege of fifty-three days, that Conſtantinople, which had defied the power of Choſroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably ſubdued by the arms of Mahomet the ſecond. Her empire only had been ſubverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the duſt by the Moſlem conquerors [63].

Death of the emperor Conſtantine Palæologus.

Loſs of the city and empire.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet ſuch was the extent of Conſtantinople, that the more diſtant quarters might prolong ſome moments the happy ignorance of their ruin [64]. But in the general conſternation, in the feelings of ſelfiſh or ſocial anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the aſſault, a *ſleepleſs* night and morning muſt have elapſed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the

The Turks enter and pillage Conſtantinople.

Janizaries from a ſound and tranquil ſlumber. On the aſſurances of the public calamity, the houſes and convents were inſtantly deſerted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the ſtreets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakneſs could be productive of ſtrength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be ſafe and inviſible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the ſpace of an hour, the ſanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and huſbands, of women and children, of prieſts, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inſide, and they ſought protection from the ſacred dome, which they had ſo lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthuſiaſt or impoſtor; that one day the Turks would enter Conſtantinople, and purſue the Romans as far as the column of Conſtantine in the ſquare before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would deſcend from heaven, with a ſword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celeſtial weapon, to a poor man ſeated at the foot of the column. "Take "this ſword," would he ſay, "and avenge the "people of the Lord." At theſe animating words, the Turks would inſtantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the Weſt, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Perſia. It is on this occaſion, that Ducas, with ſome fancy

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

and much truth, upbraids the diſcord and obſtinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the hiſtorian, "had he offered to ex-
"terminate your foes if you would conſent to
"the union of the church, even then, in that
"fatal moment, you would have rejected your
"ſafety or have deceived your God"."

Captivity of the Greeks.

While they expected the deſcent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no reſiſtance, their bloodleſs hands were employed in ſelecting and ſecuring the multitude of their priſoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themſelves by a prior ſeizure, by perſonal ſtrength, and by the authority of command. In the ſpace of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The ſenators were linked with their ſlaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian claſs, with noble maids, whoſe faces had been inviſible to the ſun and their neareſt kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of ſociety were confounded; the ties of nature were cut aſunder; and the inexorable ſoldier was careleſs of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudeſt in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked boſoms, outſtretched hands, and diſhevelled hair: and we ſhould pioufly believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of

the haram to thoſe of the monaſtery. Of theſe unfortunate Greeks, of theſe domeſtic animals, whole ſtrings were rudely driven through the ſtreets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the ſame hour, a ſimilar rapine was exerciſed in all the churches and monaſteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any place, however ſacred or ſequeſtered, protect the perſons or the property of the Greeks. Above ſixty thouſand of this devoted people were tranſported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or ſold according to the caprice or intereſt of their maſters, and diſperſed in remote ſervitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among theſe we may notice ſome remarkable characters. The hiſtorian Phranza, firſt chamberlain and principal ſecretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After ſuffering four months the hardſhips of ſlavery, he recovered his freedom; in the enſuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ranſomed his wife from the *mir bashi* or maſter of the horſe; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been ſeized for the uſe of Mahomet himſelf. The daughter of Phranza died in the ſeraglio, perhaps a virgin: his ſon, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was ſtabbed by the hand of the royal lover[66]. A deed thus inhuman, cannot ſurely be expiated by the taſte and liberality with which he releaſed

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family [67]. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit [68]. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege; they embraced the moment of retreat while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

Amount of the spoil.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilized and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and

and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the ſervice, the ſale, or the ranſom, of his captives of both ſexes [69]. The wealth of Conſtantinople had been granted by the ſultan to his victorious troops: and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the induſtry of years. But as no regular diviſion was attempted of the ſpoil, the reſpective ſhares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were ſtolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amuſement or inſtruction: the total amount, in the laſt poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats [70]; and of this ſum, a ſmall part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of theſe foreigners, the ſtock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were diſplayed in the idle oſtentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treaſures of ingots and old coin, leſt it ſhould be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monaſteries and churches, excited the moſt tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itſelf, the earthly heaven, the ſecond firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God [71] was deſpoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and ſilver, the pearls and jewels, the vaſes and ſacerdotal ornaments, were moſt wickedly converted to the

CHAP. LXVIII.

CHAP. LXVIII.

ſervice of mankind. After the divine images had been ſtripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvaſs, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the ſtables or the kitchen, to the vileſt uſes. The example of ſacrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Conſtantinople; and the treatment which Chriſt, the Virgin, and the ſaints, had ſuſtained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Muſulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, inſtead of joining the public clamour, a philoſopher will obſerve, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanſhip could not be more valuable than the work, and that a freſh ſupply of viſions and miracles would ſpeedily be renewed by the craft of the prieſt and the credulity of the people. He will more ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of the Byzantine libraries, which were deſtroyed or ſcattered in the general confuſion; one hundred and twenty thouſand manuſcripts are ſaid to have diſappeared[72]; ten volumes might be purchaſed for a ſingle ducat; and the ſame ignominious price, too high perhaps for a ſhelf of theology, included the whole works of Ariſtotle and Homer, the nobleſt productions of the ſcience and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleaſure, that an ineſtimable portion of our claſſic treaſures was ſafely depoſited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havock of time and barbariſm.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Mahomet II. visits the city, St. Sophia, the palace, etc.

From the first hour [73] of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dextrous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror [74] gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters [75], which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome: and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command, the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images

CHAP. LXVIII.

and moſaics, were waſhed and purified, and reſtored to a ſtate of naked ſimplicity. On the ſame day, or on the enſuing Friday, the *muezin* or crier aſcended the moſt lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the ſecond performed the *namaz* of prayer and thankſgiving on the great altar, where the Chriſtian myſteries had ſo lately been celebrated before the laſt of the Cæſars [76]. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the auguſt, but deſolate, manſion of an hundred ſucceſſors of the great Conſtantine; but which in a few hours had been ſtripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the viciſſitudes of human greatneſs, forced itſelf on his mind; and he repeated an elegant diſtich of Perſian poetry: "The ſpider "has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and "the owl hath ſung her watch-ſong on the towers "of Afraſiab [77]."

His behaviour to the Greeks.

Yet his mind was not ſatisfied, nor did the victory ſeem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Conſtantine; whether he had eſcaped, or been made priſoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of ſlain, was diſcovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his ſhoes: the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after expoſing the bloody trophy [78], Mahomet beſtowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his deceaſe, Lucas Notaras, great duke [79],

and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And "why," said the indignant sultan, "did you "not employ these treasures in the defence of "your prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the slave, "God had reserved them for "your hands." "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to "with-hold them so long by a fruitless and fatal "resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview, he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expence; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt

CHAP. LXVIII.

an unguarded word of conſpiracy, deliverance, and Italian ſuccour: ſuch treaſon may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has juſtly forfeited his life; nor ſhould we blame a conqueror for deſtroying the enemies whom he can no longer truſt. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious ſultan returned to Adrianople; and ſmiled at the baſe and hollow embaſſies of the Chriſtian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eaſtern empire.

He repeoples and adorns Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople had been left naked and deſolate, without a prince or a people. But ſhe could not be deſpoiled of the incomparable ſituation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Burſa and Adrianople, the ancient ſeats of the Ottomans, ſunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the ſecond eſtabliſhed his own reſidence, and that of his ſucceſſors, on the ſame commanding ſpot which had been choſen by Conſtantine [80]. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a ſhelter to the Latins, were prudently deſtroyed; but the damage of the Turkiſh cannon was ſoon repaired; and before the month of Auguſt, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the reſtoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the ſoil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or ſacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he firſt ſeparated a ſpace of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the eſtabliſhment of his ſeraglio or palace. It is here, in the boſom

of luxury, that the *grand ſignor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Aſia; but his perſon on the ſhores of the Boſphorus may not always be ſecure from the inſults of an hoſtile navy. In the new character of a moſch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and ſurrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreſhment of the Moſlems. The ſame model was imitated in the *jami* or royal moſchs; and the firſt of theſe was built, by Mahomet himſelf, on the ruins of the church of the holy apoſtles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conqueſt, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the firſt ſiege of the Arabs, was revealed in a viſion; and it is before the ſepulchre of the martyr, that the new ſultans are girded with the ſword of empire [81]. Conſtantinople no longer appertains to the Roman hiſtorian; nor ſhall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkiſh maſters: the population was ſpeedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thouſand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moſlem ſubjects: but his rational policy aſpired to collect the remnant of the

CHAP. LXVIII.

Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as ſoon as they were aſſured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exerciſe of their religion. In the election and inveſtiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of ſatisfaction and horror, they beheld the ſultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the croſier or paſtoral ſtaff, the ſymbol of his eccleſiaſtical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the ſeraglio, preſented him with an horſe richly capariſoned, and directed the vizirs and baſhaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his reſidence [82]. The churches of Conſtantinople were ſhared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and till it was infringed by Selim the grandſon of Mahomet, the Greeks [83] enjoyed above ſixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the miniſters of the divan, who wiſhed to elude the fanaticiſm of the ſultan, the Chriſtian advocates preſumed to allege that this diviſion had been an act, not of generoſity, but of juſtice; not a conceſſion, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by ſtorm, the other moiety had ſurrendered on the faith of a ſacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been conſumed by fire: but the loſs was ſupplied by the teſtimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the tranſaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir,

than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times [84].

CHAP. LXVIII.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties [85] which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas [86], the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks: they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled

Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus.

CHAP. LXVIII.

the peninſula with rapine and murder: the two deſpots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring baſhaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his leſſons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the ſtronger preſſure of neceſſity, could reconcile or ſuſpend their domeſtic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and ſword: the alms and ſuccours of the Weſt were conſumed in civil hoſtility; and their power was only exerted in ſavage and arbitrary executions. The diſtreſs and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their ſupreme lord; and, in the ſeaſon of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himſelf the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irreſiſtible force. When he had taken poſſeſſion of Sparta, "You are too "weak," ſaid the ſultan, "to control this "turbulent province: I will take your daughter "to my bed; and you ſhall paſs the remainder "of your life in ſecurity and honour." Demetrius ſighed and obeyed; ſurrendered his daughter and his caſtles; followed to Adrianople his ſovereign and ſon; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent iſles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the laſt of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of

Loſs of the Morea, A. D. 1460.

Conſtantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coaſt of the Black Sea [87]. In the progreſs of his Anatolian conqueſts, Mahomet inveſted with a fleet and army the capital of David, who preſumed to ſtyle himſelf emperor of Trebizond [88]; and the negociation was compriſed in a ſhort and peremptory queſtion, "Will "you ſecure your life and treaſures by reſign- "ing your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit "your kingdom, your treaſures, and your "life?" The feeble Comnenus was ſubdued by his own fears, and the example of a Muſulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope [89], who, on a ſimilar ſummons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thouſand ſoldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was tranſported to a caſtle in Romania: but on a ſlight ſuſpicion of correſponding with the Perſian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were ſacrificed to the jealouſy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiſcation; his abject ſubmiſſion moved the pity and contempt of the ſultan; his followers were tranſplanted to Conſtantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a penſion of fifty thouſand aſpers, till a monaſtic habit and a tardy death releaſed Palæologus from an earthly maſter. It is not eaſy to pronounce whether the ſervitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother

CHAP. LXVIII.

of Trebizond, A. D. 1461,

CHAP. LXVIII.

Thomas [90], be the moſt inglorious. On the conqueſt of the Morea, the deſpot eſcaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with ſome naked adherents: his name, his ſufferings, and the head of the apoſtle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hoſpitality of the Vatican; and his miſery was prolonged by a penſion of ſix thouſand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two ſons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldeſt, contemptible to his enemies and burthenſome to his friends, was degraded by the baſeneſs of his life and marriage. A title was his ſole inheritance; and that inheritance he ſucceſſively ſold to the kings of France and Arragon [91]. During his tranſient proſperity, Charles the eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the Eaſt with the kingdom of Naples: in a public feſtival, he aſſumed the appellation and the purple of *Auguſtus*: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry [92]. Manuel Palæologus, the ſecond ſon, was tempted to reviſit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at Conſtantinople in ſafety and eaſe; and an honourable train of Chriſtians and Moſlems attended him to the grave. If there be ſome animals of ſo generous a nature that they refuſe to propagate in a domeſtic ſtate, the laſt of the Imperial race muſt be aſcribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the ſultan's liberality two beautiful females;

and his ſurviving ſon was loſt in the habit and religion of a Turkiſh ſlave. CHAP. LXVIII.

The importance of Conſtantinople was felt and magnified in its loſs: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and proſperous, was diſhonoured by the fall of the Eaſtern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or ſeemed to revive, the old enthuſiaſm of the cruſades. In one of the moſt diſtant countries of the Weſt, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Liſle in Flanders, an aſſembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feaſt were ſkilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings [93]. In the midſt of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a caſtle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the ſymbol of religion, was ſeen to iſſue from the caſtle; ſhe deplored her oppreſſion, and accuſed the ſlowneſs of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fiſt a live pheaſant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he preſented to the duke. At this extraordinary ſummons, Philip, a wiſe and aged prince, engaged his perſon and powers in the holy war againſt the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the aſſembly; they ſwore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheaſant*; and their particular vows were not leſs extravagant than the general ſanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on ſome future and

Grief and terror of Europe, A. D. 1453.

CHAP. LXVIII.

foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the laſt hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be ſcrupulouſly, and perhaps ſincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breaſt glowed with the ſame ardour; had the union of the Chriſtians correſponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden [94] to Naples, ſupplied a juſt proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Conſtantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chaſed beyond the Helleſpont or the Euphrates. But the ſecretary of the emperor, who compoſed every epiſtle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius [95], a ſtateſman and orator, deſcribes from his own experience the repugnant ſtate and ſpirit of Chriſtendom, "It is a body," ſays he, "without "an head; a republic without laws or magiſtrates. "The pope and the emperor may ſhine as lofty "titles, as ſplendid images, but *they* are unable to "command, and none are willing to obey: every "ſtate has a ſeparate prince, and every prince has "a ſeparate intereſt. What eloquence could unite "ſo many diſcordant and hoſtile powers under "the ſame ſtandard? Could they be aſſembled "in arms, who would dare to aſſume the office "of general? What order could be maintain-"ed? — what military diſcipline? Who would "undertake to feed ſuch an enormous multitude? "Who would underſtand their various languages "or direct their ſtranger and incompatible manners?

" What mortal could reconcile the Engliſh CHAP.
" with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the LXVIII.
" Germans with the natives of Hungary and
" Bohemia? If a ſmall number enliſted in the
" holy war, they muſt be overthrown by the
" infidels; if many, by their own weight and
" confuſion." Yet the ſame Æneas, when he was raiſed to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the ſecond, devoted his life to the proſecution of the Turkiſh war. In the council of Mantua he excited ſome ſparks of a falſe or feeble enthuſiaſm; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona to embark in perſon with the troops, engagements vaniſhed in excuſes; a preciſe day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army conſiſted of ſome German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to diſband with indulgences and alms. Regardleſs of futurity, his ſucceſſors and the powers of Italy were involved in the ſchemes of preſent and domeſtic ambition, and the diſtance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their intereſt would have taught them to maintain a defenſive and naval war againſt the common enemy; and the ſupport of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might have prevented the ſubſequent invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. The ſiege and ſack of Otranto by the Turks, diffuſed a general conſternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the ſtorm was inſtantly

CHAP. LXVIII.

dispelled by the death of Mahomet the second, in the fifty-first year of his age [96]. His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME [97].

Death of Mahomet II. A. D. 1481, May 3, or July 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. — Temporal Dominion of the Popes. — Seditions of the City. — Political Hereſy of Arnold of Breſcia. — Reſtoration of the Republic. — The Senators. — Pride of the Romans. — Their Wars. — They are deprived of the Election and Preſence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon. — The Jubilee. — Noble Families of Rome. — Feud of the Colonna and Urſini.

IN the firſt ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the faireſt portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at firſt with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are conſidered as ſo many branches which have been ſucceſſively ſevered from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a ſecond Rome, on the ſhores of the Boſphorus, has compelled the hiſtorian to follow the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine; and our curioſity has been tempted to viſit the moſt remote countries of Europe and Aſia, to explore the cauſes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conqueſts of Juſtinian, we have been recalled to the

CHAP. LXIX.

State and revolutions of Rome, A. D. 1100 — 1500.

CHAP. LXIX.

banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of ſervitude. Rome had been already ſtripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæſars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppreſſive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Chriſtian æra, a religious quarrel, the worſhip of images, provoked the Romans to aſſert their independence: their biſhop became the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual, father of a free people; and of the Weſtern empire, which was reſtored by Charlemagne, the title and image ſtill decorate the ſingular conſtitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome muſt yet command our involuntary reſpect: the climate (whatſoever may be its influence) was no longer the ſame[1]: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thouſand channels; but the venerable aſpect of her ruins, and the memory of paſt greatneſs, rekindled a ſpark of the national character. The darkneſs of the middle ages exhibits ſome ſcenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor ſhall I diſmiſs the preſent work till I have reviewed the ſtate and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquieſced under the abſolute dominion of the popes about the ſame time that Conſtantinople was enſlaved by the Turkiſh arms.

The French and German emperors of Rome, A. D. 1800—1160.

IN the beginning of the twelfth century[2], the æra of the firſt cruſade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who,

from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber [3]. At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate; and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life "and victory to our lord the pope! Long life "and victory to our lord the emperor; Long "life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic "armies [4]!" The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

was engraved on the papal coins [1]; and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice; which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Authority of the popes in Rome,

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a

German court, the vicar of Chriſt was freely choſen by the college of cardinals, moſt of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applauſe of the magiſtrates and people confirmed his election; and the eccleſiaſtical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the ſuffrage of the Romans. The ſame ſuffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was univerſally believed, that Conſtantine had inveſted the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldeſt civilians, the moſt profane ſceptics, were ſatisfied with diſputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was loſt in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inſcribed on the coin of the biſhops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, conſent of the German Cæſars, they had long exerciſed a ſupreme or ſubordinate juriſdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome; and a more critical enquiry would have revealed a ſtill nobler ſource of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had reſcued from the hereſy and oppreſſion of the Greek tyrant. In an age of ſuperſtition, it ſhould ſeem that the union of the royal

CHAP. LXXI.

from affection; right;

CHAP. LXIX.

and ſacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradiſe would be the ſureſt pledge of earthly obedience. The ſanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the perſonal vices of the man. But the ſcandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the auſtere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the ſeventh and his ſucceſſors; and in the ambitious conteſts which they maintained for the rights of the church, their ſufferings or their ſucceſs muſt equally tend to increaſe the popular veneration. They ſometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of perſecution; and the apoſtolic zeal with which they offered themſelves to martyrdom, muſt engage the favour and ſympathy of every Catholic breaſt. And ſometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and depoſed the kings of the world: nor could the proudeſt Roman be diſgraced by ſubmitting to a prieſt, whoſe feet were kiſſed, and whoſe ſtirrup was held, by the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne [6]. Even the temporal intereſt of the city ſhould have protected in peace and honour the reſidence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greateſt part of their ſubſiſtence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial eſtates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by ſacrilegious hands; nor could the loſs be compenſated by the claim, rather than the poſſeſſion, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his deſcendants. But

virtue;

benefits.

the Vatican and Capitol were nouriſhed by the inceſſant and increaſing ſwarms of pilgrims and ſuppliants: the pale of Chriſtianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of eccleſiaſtical and ſecular cauſes. A new juriſprudence had eſtabliſhed in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals[7]; and, from the north and weſt, the biſhops and abbots were invited or ſummoned to ſolicit, to complain, to accuſe, or to juſtify, before the threſhold of the apoſtles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horſes, belonging to the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, repaſſed the Alps, yet laden with gold and ſilver[8]: but it was ſoon underſtood, that the ſucceſs, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much leſs on the juſtice of their cauſe than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of theſe ſtrangers were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed; and their expences, ſacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans. CHAP. LXIX.

Such powerful motives ſhould have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their ſpiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and intereſt is often diſturbed by the ſallies of ungovernable paſſion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit[9], and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the ſame impulſe of ſavage nature, which overlooks the future in the preſent, and relinquiſhes for momentary rapine the long and ſecure poſſeſſion Inconſtancy of ſuperſtition.

CHAP. LXIX.

of the moſt important bleſſings. And it was thus, that the ſhrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtleſs Romans; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of ſimilar viſits, which they prevented by their inhoſpitable ſacrilege. Even the influence of ſuperſtition is fluctuating and precarious; and the ſlave, whoſe reaſon is ſubdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the prieſthood, moſt powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian: yet ſuch a mind is the leaſt capable of preferring imagination to ſenſe, of ſacrificing to a diſtant motive, to an inviſible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and intereſts of the preſent world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the preſſure of age, or ſickneſs, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to ſatisfy the double debt of piety and remorſe. I have already obſerved, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the moſt favourable to the peace and ſecurity of the clergy. Under the reign of ſuperſtition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whoſe conſtant increaſe muſt have rendered them the ſole proprietors of the earth, was alternately beſtowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious ſon: their perſons were adored or violated; and the ſame idol, by the hands of the ſame votaries, was placed on the

altar or trampled in the duſt. In the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, arms were the title of diſtinction and the meaſure of allegiance; and amidſt their tumult, the ſtill voice of law and reaſon was ſeldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans diſdained the yoke, and inſulted the impotence, of their biſhop [11]; nor would his education or character allow him to exerciſe, with decency or effect, the power of the ſword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were expoſed to their familiar obſervation; and proximity muſt diminiſh the reverence, which his name and his decrees impreſſed on a barbarous world. This difference has not eſcaped the notice of our philoſophic hiſtorian: "Though the name and authority of the "court of Rome were ſo terrible in the remote coun- "tries of Europe, which were ſunk in profound "ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with "its character and conduct, the pope was ſo little "revered at home, that his inveterate enemies "ſurrounded the gates of Rome itſelf, and even "controlled his government in that city; and "the ambaſſadors, who, from a diſtant extremity "of Europe, carried to him the humble, or "rather abject, ſubmiſſions of the greateſt poten- "tate of the age, found the utmoſt difficulty to "make their way to him, and to throw them- "ſelves at his feet [11]."

CHAP. LXIX.

Seditions of Rome againſt the popes.

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was expoſed to envy, their power to oppoſition, and their perſons to violence. But the long hoſtility of the mitre and the crown increaſed

Succeſſors of Gregory VII. A. D. 1086 — 1305.

CHAP. LXIX.

the numbers, and inflamed the paſſions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, ſo fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or conſtancy by the Romans, the ſubjects and adverſaries both of the biſhop and emperor; but their ſupport was ſolicited by both parties; and they alternately diſplayed in their banners the keys of S. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the ſeventh, who may be adored or deteſted as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his ſucceſſors [12], till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal conteſt with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the ſolemn rites of religion, were polluted with ſedition and murder. A repetition [13] of ſuch capricious brutality, without connection or deſign, would be tedious and diſguſting; and I ſhall content myſelf with ſome events of the twelfth century, which repreſent the ſtate of the popes and the city. On Holy Thurſday, while Paſchal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiouſly demanded the confirmation of a favourite magiſtrate. His ſilence exaſperated their fury: his pious refuſal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he ſhould be the cauſe and the witneſs of the public ruin. During the feſtival of Eaſter, while the biſhop and the clergy, barefoot and in proceſſion, viſited the tombs of the

Paſchal II. A. D. 1099—1118

martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani [14], a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprize. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking

CHAP. LXIX.

Gelasius II. A. D. 1118, 1119.

CHAP. LXIX.

the duſt from his feet, the *apoſtle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was inſulted and his perſon was endangered; and the vanity of ſacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confeſſion, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty [15]. Theſe examples might ſuffice; but I cannot forget the ſufferings of two pontiffs of the ſame age, the ſecond and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he aſcended in battle-array to aſſault the Capitol, was ſtruck on the temple by a ſtone, and expired in a few days. The latter was ſeverely wounded in the perſons of his ſervants. In a civil commotion, ſeveral of his prieſts had been made priſoners; and the inhuman Romans, reſerving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on aſſes with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they ſhould offer themſelves as a leſſon to the head of the church. Hope or fear, laſſitude or remorſe, the characters of the men, and the circumſtances of the times, might ſometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was reſtored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of miſchief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by ſuch tempeſts as had almoſt ſunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually preſented the aſpect of war and diſcord: the churches and palaces were fortified and

Lucius II. A. D. 1144, 1145.

Lucius III. A. D. 1181—1185.

assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calistus the second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatized the vices of the rebellious people [16]. "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance "of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, "cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they "promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they "swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity "of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud "clamours if your doors, or your counsels, are "shut against them. Dextrous in mischief, they "have never learnt the science of doing good. "Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, "seditious among themselves, jealous of their "neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love "no one, by no one are they beloved; and while "they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and "continual apprehension. They will not submit; "they know how to govern; faithless to their "superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrate-"ful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in "their demands and their refusals. Lofty in "promise, poor in execution: adulation and "calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar

CHAP. LXIX.

Calistus II. A. D. 1119—1124.

Innocent II. A. D. 1130—1143.

Character of the Romans by St. Bernard.

CHAP. LXIX.

"arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Chriſtian charity [17]; yet the features, however harſh and ugly, expreſs a lively reſemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century [18].

Political hereſy of Arnold of Breſcia, A. D. 1140.

The Jews had rejected the Chriſt when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead theif ignorance of his vicar when he aſſumed the pomp and pride of a temporal ſovereign. In the buſy age of the cruſades, ſome ſparks of curioſity and reaſon were rekindled in the Weſtern world: the hereſy of Bulgaria, the Paulician ſect, was ſucceſsfully tranſplanted into the ſoil of Italy and France; the Gnoſtic viſions were mingled with the ſimplicity of the goſpel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their paſſions with their conſcience, the deſire of freedom with the profeſſion of piety [19]. The trumpet of Roman liberty was firſt ſounded by Arnold of Breſcia [20], whoſe promotion in the church was confined to the loweſt rank, and who wore the monaſtic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adverſaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they ſeverely felt: they confeſs with reluctance the ſpecious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological ſtudies, he had been the diſciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard [21], who was likewiſe involved in the ſuſpicion of hereſy: but the lover of Eloiſa was of a ſoft and

flexible nature; and his eccleſiaſtic judges were edified and diſarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this maſter, Arnold moſt probably imbibed ſome metaphyſical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taſte of the times: his ideas of baptiſm and the euchariſt are looſely cenſured; but a *political* hereſy was the ſource of his fame and misfortunes. He preſumed to quote the declaration of Chriſt, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the ſword and the ſceptre were entruſted to the civil magiſtrate; that temporal honours and poſſeſſions were lawfully veſted in ſecular perſons; that the abbots, the biſhops, and the pope himſelf, muſt renounce either their ſtate or their ſalvation; and that after the loſs of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would ſuffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exerciſe of ſpiritual labours. During a ſhort time, the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the diſcontent, or revolt, of Breſcia againſt her biſhop, was the firſt fruits of his dangerous leſſons. But the favour of the people is leſs permanent than the reſentment of the prieſt; and after the hereſy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the ſecond[22], in the general council of the Lateran, the magiſtrates themſelves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the ſentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the diſciple of Abelard eſcaped beyond the Alps, till he found a ſafe and hoſpitable ſhelter in Zurich, now

CHAP. LXIX.

the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station [23], a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries [24]. In an age less ripe for reformation, the præcursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause: a brave and simple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard [25]; and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

He exhorts the Romans to restore the republic, A. D. 1144.—1154.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine

their

their ſhepherd to the ſpiritual government of his flock [26]. Nor could his ſpiritual government eſcape the cenſure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his leſſons to reſiſt the cardinals, who had uſurped a deſpotic command over the twenty-eight regions or pariſhes of Rome [27]. The revolution was not accompliſhed without rapine and violence, the effuſion of blood and the demolition of houſes: the victorious faction was enriched with the ſpoils of the clergy and the adverſe nobles. Arnold of Breſcia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his miſſion: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the ſecond and Anaſtaſius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were ſucceeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth [28], the only Engliſhman who has aſcended the throne of St. Peter; and whoſe merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almoſt a beggar, in the monaſtery of St. Albans. On the firſt provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the ſtreets, he caſt an interdict on the guilty people; and from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worſhip. The Romans had deſpiſed their temporal prince; they ſubmitted with grief and terror to the cenſures of their ſpiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the baniſhment of the ſeditious preacher was the price of their abſolution. — But the revenge of Adrian was yet

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the præfect of the city pronounced his sentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master[29]. The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme

His execution. A. D. 1155.

jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican. CHAP. LXIX.

Restoration of the senate, A. D. 1144.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons [30]. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered [31]. They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours [32], and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent: but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government [33]; and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore,

CHAP. LXIX.

the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots, could not easily be adopted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction [34]? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word

CHAP. LXIX.

that arreſted the public counſels, ſuppoſe or muſt produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the ſubjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the ſtate; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who inſulted the vicar of Chriſt, have long reſpected the unarmed ſanctity of a plebeian magiſtrate [35].

The Capitol.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new exiſtence and æra to Rome, we may obſerve the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her ſeven eminences [36], is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred ſteps led to the ſummit of the Tarpeian rock; and far ſteeper was the aſcent before the declivities had been ſmoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earlieſt ages, the Capitol had been uſed as a temple in peace, a fortreſs in war: after the loſs of the city, it maintained a ſiege againſt the victorious Gauls; and the ſanctuary of empire was occupied, aſſaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Veſpaſian [37]. The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into duſt; their place was ſupplied by monaſteries and houſes; and the ſolid walls, the long and ſhelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapſe of time. It was the firſt act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to reſtore the ſtrength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the ſeat of their arms and counſels: and as often as they aſcended the

CHAP. LXIX.

hill, the coldeſt minds muſt have glowed with the remembrance of their anceſtors. II. The firſt Cæſars had been inveſted with the excluſive coinage of the gold and ſilver; to the ſenate they abandoned the baſer metal of bronze or copper[38]: the emblems and legends were inſcribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The ſucceſſors of Diocletian deſpiſed even the flattery of the ſenate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, aſſumed the ſole direction of the mint; and the ſame prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long ſeries of the Greek, the French, and the German dynaſties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman ſenate aſſerted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paſchal the ſecond to the eſtabliſhment of their reſidence beyond the Alps. Some of theſe republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are ſhewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of theſe, a gold medal, Chriſt is depictured holding in his left hand a book with this inſcription: "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE "AND PEOPLE: ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE "WORLD;" on the reverſe, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling ſenator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impreſſed on a ſhield[39]. III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he ſtill exerciſed in the laſt appeal

The præfect of the city.

the civil and criminal juriſdiction; and a drawn ſword, which he received from the ſucceſſors of Otho, was the mode of his inveſtiture and the emblem of his functions [40]. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity muſt have often embarraſſed the præfect in the conflict of adverſe duties [41]. A ſervant, in whom they poſſeſſed but a third ſhare, was diſmiſſed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not diſdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a ſubject; and, after the firſt fervour of rebellion, they conſented without reluctance to the reſtoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the moſt ambitious, or at leaſt the moſt fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himſelf from this badge of foreign dominion: he inveſted the præfect with a banner inſtead of a ſword, and abſolved him from all dependence of oaths or ſervice to the German emperors [42]. In his place an eccleſiaſtic, a preſent or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his juriſdiction has been reduced to a narrow compaſs; and in the days of freedom, the right or exerciſe was derived from the ſenate and people. IV. After the revival of the ſenate [43], the conſcript fathers (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were inveſted with the legiſlative and executive power; but their views ſeldom reached beyond the preſent day; and that day was moſt frequently

CHAP. LXIX.

A. D. 1198—1216.

Number and choice of the ſenate.

CHAP. LXIX.

disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators [44], the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic [45].

The office of senator.

The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction: and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their

adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the paſtoral care of their biſhop, admoniſhed the Romans that they were incapable of governing themſelves; and they ſought abroad thoſe bleſſings which they were hopeleſs of finding at home. In the ſame age, and from the ſame motives, moſt of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a meaſure, which, however ſtrange it may ſeem, was adapted to their ſituation, and productive of the moſt ſalutary effects [46]. They choſe, in ſome foreign but friendly city, an impartial magiſtrate of noble birth and unblemiſhed character, a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the ſupreme adminiſtration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was ſealed with oaths and ſubſcriptions; and the duration of his power, the meaſure of his ſtipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with ſcrupulous preciſion. They ſwore to obey him as their lawful ſuperior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a ſtranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or ſix knights and civilians, his aſſeſſors in arms and juſtice, attended the *Podeſtà* [47], who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of ſervants and horſes: his wife, his ſon, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exerciſe of his office he was not permitted to purchaſe land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the houſe of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

till he had ſatisfied the complaints that might be urged againſt his government.

Brancaleone, A. D. 1252—1258.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the ſenator Brancaleone [48], whoſe fame and merit have been reſcued from oblivion by the pen of an Engliſh hiſtorian. A juſt anxiety for his reputation, a clear foreſight of the difficulties of the taſk, had engaged him to refuſe the honour of their choice: the ſtatutes of Rome were ſuſpended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accuſed as cruel; by the clergy he was ſuſpected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magiſtrate by whom thoſe bleſſings were reſtored. No criminals were ſo powerful as to brave, ſo obſcure as to elude, the juſtice of the ſenator. By his ſentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demoliſhed, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the ſtrong ſhelters of rapine and miſchief. The biſhop, as a ſimple biſhop, was compelled to reſide in his dioceſe; and the ſtandard of Brancaleone was diſplayed in the field with terror and effect. His ſervices were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happineſs which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their ſake, the Romans were excited to depoſe and impriſon their benefactor; nor would his life have been ſpared, if Bologna had not poſſeſſed a pledge for his ſafety. Before his departure, the prudent ſenator had required the

exchange of thirty hoſtages of the nobleſt families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more ſtrictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cauſe of honour, ſuſtained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous reſiſtance allowed the Romans to compare the preſent with the paſt; and Brancaleone was conducted from the priſon to the Capitol amidſt the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as ſoon as envy was appeaſed by death, his head, encloſed in a precious vaſe, was depoſited on a lofty column of marble [49].

CHAP. LXIX.

Charles of Anjou, A. D. 1256—1278.

The impotence of reaſon and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: inſtead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their ſenator ſome prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themſelves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the moſt ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the ſame time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of ſenator from the Roman people [50]. As he paſſed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and ſmoothed in a ſhort viſit the harſh features of his deſpotic character. Yet even Charles was expoſed to the inconſtancy of the people, who ſaluted with the ſame acclamations the paſſage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed

CHAP. LXIX.

the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank [51]. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic [52], to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Pope Martin IV. A. D. 1281.

The emperor Lewis of Bavaria. A. D. 1328.

Addresses of Rome to the emperors.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third

Conrad III. A. D. 1144.

and Frederic the firſt, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own hiſtory [53]. After ſome complaint of his ſilence and neglect, they exhort the former of theſe princes to paſs the Alps, and aſſume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beſeech "your majeſty, not to diſdain the humility of "your ſons and vaſſals, not to liſten to the "accuſations of our common enemies; who ca- "lumniate the ſenate as hoſtile to your throne, "who ſow the ſeeds of diſcord, that they may "reap the harveſt of deſtruction. The pope and "the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to "oppoſe *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With "the bleſſing of God, our zeal and courage has "hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their pow- "erful and factious adherents, more eſpecially "the Frangipani, we have taken by aſſault the "houſes and turrets: ſome of theſe are occupied "by our troops, and ſome are levelled with the "ground. The Milvian bridge, which they "had broken, is reſtored and fortified for your "ſafe paſſage; and your army may enter the city "without being annoyed from the caſtle of "St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all "that we deſign, is for your honour and ſervice, "in the loyal hope, that you will ſpeedily appear "in perſon, to vindicate thoſe rights which have "been invaded by the clergy, to revive the "dignity of the empire, and to ſurpaſs the fame "and glory of your predeceſſors. May you fix "your reſidence in Rome, the capital of the

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

" world; give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic " kingdom; and imitate the example of Con- " ſtantine and Juſtinian [54], who by the vigour " of the ſenate and people obtained the ſceptre " of the earth [55]." But theſe ſplendid and fallacious wiſhes were not cheriſhed by Conrad the Franconian, whoſe eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without viſiting Rome ſoon after his return from the Holy Land.

Frederic I. A. D. 1155.

His nephew and ſucceſſor Frederic Barbaroſſa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the ſucceſſors of Otho acquired ſuch abſolute ſway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his eccleſiaſtical and ſecular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambaſſadors of Rome, who thus addreſſed him in a free and florid oration: " Incline your ear " to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful " and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which " has caſt away the yoke of the clergy, and is " impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. " Under your auſpicious influence, may the " primitive times be reſtored. Aſſert the prero- " gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under " her monarchy, the inſolence of the world. You " are not ignorant, that, in former ages, by " the wiſdom of the ſenate, by the valour and " diſcipline of the equeſtrian order, ſhe extended " her victorious arms to the Eaſt and Weſt, " beyond the Alps, and over the iſlands of the " ocean. By our ſins, in the abſence of our " princes, the noble inſtitution of the ſenate has

" ſunk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our CHAP.
" ſtrength has likewiſe decreaſed. We have LXIX.
" revived the ſenate, and the equeſtrian order;
" the counſels of the one, the arms of the other,
" will be devoted to your perſon and the ſervice
" of the empire. Do you not hear the language
" of the Roman matron? You were a gueſt, I
" have adopted you as a citizen; a Tranſalpine
" ſtranger, I have elected you for my ſovereign";
" and given you myſelf, and all that is mine.
" Your firſt and moſt ſacred duty, is to ſwear
" and ſubſcribe, that you will ſhed your blood
" for the republic; that you will maintain in
" peace and juſtice, the laws of the city and
" charters of your predeceſſors; and that you
" will reward with five thouſand pounds of ſilver
" the faithful ſenators who ſhall proclaim your
" titles in the Capitol. With the name, aſſume
" the character, of Auguſtus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhauſted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conqueſt. " Famous indeed have been the fortitude
" and wiſdom of the ancient Romans: but your
" ſpeech is not ſeaſoned with wiſdom, and I
" could wiſh that fortitude were conſpicuous in
" your actions. Like all ſublunary things, Rome
" has felt the viciſſitudes of time and fortune.
" Your nobleſt families were tranſlated to the
" Eaſt, to the royal city of Conſtantine; and the
" remains of your ſtrength and freedom have

CHAP. LXIX.

" long ſince been exhauſted by the Greeks and " Franks. Are you deſirous of beholding the " ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the " ſenate, the ſpirit of the knights, the diſcipline " of the camp, the valour of the legions? you " will find them in the German republic. It is " not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments " and virtues of empire have likewiſe migrated " beyond the Alps to a more deſerving people [57]: " they will be employed in your defence, but " they claim your obedience. You pretend that " myſelf or my predeceſſors have been invited " by the Romans: you miſtake the word, they " were not invited; they were implored. From " its foreign and domeſtic tyrants, the city was " reſcued by Charlemagne and Otho, whoſe aſhes " repoſe in our country: and their dominion was " the price of your deliverance. Under that " dominion your anceſtors lived and died. I " claim by the right of inheritance and poſſeſſion, " and who ſhall dare to extort you from my " hands? Is the hand of the Franks [58] and Ger- " mans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquiſhed? " Am I a captive? Am I not encompaſſed with " the banners of a potent and invincible army? " You impoſe conditions on your maſter; you " require oaths: if the conditions are juſt, an " oath is ſuperfluous; if unjuſt, it is criminal. " Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to " the meaneſt of my ſubjects. Will not my " ſword be unſheathed in the defence of the " Capitol?

" Capitol? by that ſword the northern kingdom CHAP.
" of Denmark has been reſtored to the Roman LXIX.
" empire. You preſcribe the meaſure and the
" objects of my bounty, which flows in a
" copious, but a voluntary ſtream. All will be
" given to patient merit; all will be denied to
" rude importunity [59]." Neither the emperor nor the ſenate could maintain theſe lofty pretenſions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and ſuſpicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was diſturbed by a ſally from the Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not ſafely encamp in the preſence of a city of which he ſtyled himſelf the ſovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he beſieged Rome, to ſeat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Piſan gallies were introduced into the Tyber: but the ſenate and people were ſaved by the arts of negociation and the progreſs of diſeaſe; nor did Frederic or his ſucceſſors reiterate the hoſtile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exerciſed by the popes, the cruſades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the ſecond offered in the Capitol the great ſtandard, the *Caroccio* of Milan [60]. After the extinction of the houſe of Swabia, they were baniſhed beyond the Alps; and their laſt coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæſars [61].

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

CHAP. LXIX.

Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring cities.

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful hiſtorian [62] amuſed the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," ſays Florus, "when Tibur and Prænesſte, our ſummer "retreats, were the objects of hoſtile vows in "the Capitol, when we dreaded the ſhades of "the Arician groves, when we could triumph "without a bluſh over the nameleſs villages of "the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could "afford a title not unworthy of a victorious "general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contraſt of the paſt and the preſent: they would have been humbled by the proſpect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thouſand years, Rome, deſpoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the ſame hoſtilities, on the ſame ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either ſide of the Tyber was always claimed, and ſometimes poſſeſſed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons aſſumed a lawleſs independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and diſcord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans inceſſantly laboured to reduce or deſtroy the contumacious vaſſals of the church and ſenate; and if their headſtrong and ſelfiſh ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his ſpiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the

first conſuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They aſſembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; ſallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harveſts of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their ſieges were tedious and unſkilful: in the uſe of victory, they indulged the meaner paſſions of jealouſy and revenge; and inſtead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adverſaries. The captives, in their ſhirts, with a rope round their necks, ſolicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demoliſhed, and the inhabitants were ſcattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the ſeats of the cardinal biſhops, Porto, Oſtia, Albanum, Tuſculum, Præneſte, and Tibur or Tivoli, were ſucceſſively overthrown by the ferocious hoſtility of the Romans [63]. Of theſe [64], Porto and Oſtia, the two keys of the Tyber, are ſtill vacant and deſolate: the marſhy and unwholeſome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is loſt to every purpoſe of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a ſhady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again ſmiled with the bleſſings of peace: Freſcati has ariſen near the ruins of Tuſculum: Tibur or Tivoli has reſumed the honours of a city [65], and the meaner towns of Albano and Paleſtrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of deſtruction, the ambition of the Romans

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum [66] and Viterbo [67] might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Tholouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular sallies,

Battle of Tusculum, A. D. 1167.

Battle of Viterbo, A. D. 1234.

they ſubſided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military inſtitutions, and in the diſgraceful and dangerous uſe of foreign mercenaries. CHAP. LXIX.

The election of the popes.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Chriſt. Under the firſt Chriſtian princes, the chair of St. Peter was diſputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the ſanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was diſtracted by the miſchief of frequent ſchiſms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magiſtrate, theſe miſchiefs were tranſient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour, nor could the unſucceſsful competitor long diſturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been diveſted of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been eſtabliſhed, that the vicar of Chriſt is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy ſee might involve Chriſtendom in controverſy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a ſuperior. On the deceaſe of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the moſt reſpectable of the clergy were divided; and the diſtant princes, who bowed before the ſpiritual throne, could not diſtinguiſh the ſpurious,

CHAP. LXIX.

from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the ſchiſm, from the political motive of oppoſing a friendly to an hoſtile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to ſuffer the inſults of his enemies, who were not awed by conſcience; and to purchaſe the ſupport of his adherents, who were inſtigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual ſucceſſion was aſcertained by Alexander the third[68], who finally aboliſhed the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the ſole college of cardinals[69]. The three orders of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, were aſſimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the firſt rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently choſen among the nations of Chriſtendom; and the poſſeſſion of the richeſt benefices, of the moſt important biſhoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The ſenators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the ſupreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the ſymbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the ſmallneſs of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the tenth, ſeldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, perſons. By this wiſe regulation, all doubt and ſcandal were removed, and the root of ſchiſm was ſo effectually deſtroyed, that in a period of ſix hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the ſacred college. But as the concurrence of two

Right of the cardinals eſtabliſhed by Alexander III. A. D. 1179.

thirds of the votes had been made neceſſary, the election was often delayed by the private intereſt and paſſions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Chriſtian world was left deſtitute of an head. A vacancy of almoſt three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the tenth, who reſolved to prevent the future abuſe; and his bull, after ſome oppoſition, has been conſecrated in the code of the canon law [70]. Nine days are allowed for the obſequies of the deceaſed pope, and the arrival of the abſent cardinals: on the tenth, they are impriſoned, each with one domeſtic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any ſeparation of walls or curtains; a ſmall window is reſerved for the introduction of neceſſaries; but the door is locked on both ſides, and guarded by the magiſtrates of the city, to ſeclude them from all correſpondence with the world. If the election be not conſummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a ſingle diſh at dinner and ſupper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a ſcanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy ſee, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or aſſuming, unleſs in ſome rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promiſes among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their ſolemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or ſuperfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed,

Inſtituation of the conclave by Gregory X. A. D. 1274.

CHAP. LXIX.

but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are ſtill urged, by the perſonal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or ſecret votes has wrapt the ſtruggles of the conclave [71] in the ſilky veil of charity and politeneſs [72]. By theſe inſtitutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and biſhop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they ſeemed inſenſible of the loſs of this ineſtimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After ſome negociation with the magiſtrates, the Roman people was aſſembled [73] in the ſquare before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the twenty-ſecond, was depoſed; the choice of his ſucceſſor was ratified by their conſent and applauſe. They freely voted for a new law, that their biſhop ſhould never be abſent more than three months in the year, and two days journey from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third ſummons, the public ſervant ſhould be degraded and diſmiſſed [74]. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his uſeleſs phantom was rejected; the Romans deſpiſed their own workmanſhip; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful ſovereign [75]; and the excluſive right of the cardinals was more firmly eſtabliſhed by this unſeaſonable attack.

A. D. 1328.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expences of servants and strangers who attended the court [76]. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished

Absence of the popes from Rome.

CHAP. LXIX.

by new tumults, and again ſummoned by the imperious or reſpectful invitation of the ſenate. In theſe occaſional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were ſeldom long, or far, diſtant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apoſtolic throne was tranſported, as it might ſeem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhone; and the cauſe of the tranſmigration may be deduced from the furious conteſt between Boniface the eighth and the king of France [77]. The ſpiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulſed by the union of the three eſtates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not armed againſt the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope reſided at Anagni, without the ſuſpicion of danger, his palace and perſon were aſſaulted by three hundred horſe, who had been ſecretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French miniſter, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hoſtile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were ſeduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntleſs Boniface, unarmed and alone, ſeated himſelf in his chair, and awaited, like the conſcript fathers of old, the ſwords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adverſary, was content to execute the orders of his maſter: by the domeſtic enmity of Colonna, he was inſulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardſhips which they inflicted on the obſtinacy which they provoked. Their

Boniface VIII. A. D. 1294—1303.

ſtrange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who reſcued him from ſacrilegious violence; but his imperious ſoul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is ſtained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this eccleſiaſtical champion to the honours of a ſaint; a magnanimous ſinner (ſay the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was ſucceeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildeſt of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emiſſaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curſe, whoſe effects are ſtill viſible to the eyes of ſuperſtition [78].

CHAP. LXIX.

Translation of the holy ſee to Avignon, A. D. 1309.

After his deceaſe, the tedious and equal ſuſpenſe of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A ſpecious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who ſhould be named by their opponents. The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the firſt on the liſt; but his ambition was known; and his conſcience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a ſwift meſſenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with ſuch ſpeed and ſecrecy was the buſineſs tranſacted, that the

CHAP. LXIX.

unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the fifth [79]. The cardinals of both parties were ſoon aſtoniſhed by a ſummons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they ſoon diſcovered, they muſt never hope to return. He was engaged, by promiſe and affection, to prefer the reſidence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gaſcogny, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally repoſed at Avignon [80], which flouriſhed above ſeventy years [81] the ſeat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Chriſtendom. By land, by ſea, by the Rhone, the poſition of Avignon was on all ſides acceſſible: the ſouthern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itſelf; new palaces aroſe for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were ſoon attracted by the treaſures of the church. They were already poſſeſſed of the adjacent territory, the Venaiſſin county [82], a populous and fertile ſpot; and the ſovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchaſed from the youth and diſtreſs of Jane, the firſt queen of Naples and counteſs of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourſcore thouſand florins [83]. Under the ſhadow of the French monarchy, amidſt an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil ſtate, to which they long had been ſtrangers: but Italy deplored their abſence; and Rome, in ſolitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the ſucceſſor of St.

Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitleſs: after the death of the old members, the ſacred college was filled with French cardinals [84], who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a ſeries of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the moſt indiſſoluble ties to their native country. CHAP. LXIX.

Inſtitution of the jubilee, or holy year, A. D. 1300.

The progreſs of induſtry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the moſt flouriſhing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the poſition of Rome was leſs favourable, the territory leſs fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debaſed by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of ſubjects muſt for ever nouriſh the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in ſome degree by the reſort of pilgrims to the ſhrines of the apoſtles; and the laſt legacy of the popes, the inſtitution of the HOLY YEAR [85], was not leſs beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loſs of Paleſtine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the cruſades, remained without an object; and the moſt valuable treaſure of the church was ſequeſtered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had ſufficient learning to recollect and

CHAP. LXIX.

revive the ſecular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the concluſion of every century. To ſound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a ſermon was ſeaſonably pronounced, a report was artfully ſcattered, ſome aged witneſſes were produced; and on the firſt of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *cuſtomary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was ſoon perſuaded by ancient teſtimony of the juſtice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary abſolution to all Catholics who, in the courſe of that year, and at every ſimilar period, ſhould reſpectfully viſit the apoſtolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome ſound was propagated through Chriſtendom; and at firſt from the neareſt provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a ſwarm of pilgrims who ſought to expiate their ſins in a journey, however coſtly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military ſervice. All exceptions of rank or ſex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common tranſport; and in the ſtreets and churches many perſons were trampled to death by the eagerneſs of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be eaſy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well apprized of the contagion of example: yet we are aſſured by a judicious hiſtorian, who

assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul [86]. It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the sixth [87] to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the mosaic jubilee [88]. His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop [89]. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and

CHAP. LXIX.

The second jubilee, A. D. 1350.

CHAP. LXIX.

twenty-five, years; although the ſecond of theſe terms is commenſurate with the life of Chriſt. The profuſion of indulgences, the revolt of the Proteſtants, and the decline of ſuperſtition, have much diminiſhed the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and laſt feſtival was a year of pleaſure and profit to the Romans; and a philoſophic ſmile will not diſturb the triumph of the prieſt or the happineſs of the people [90].

The nobles or barons of Rome.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was expoſed to the feudal tyranny alike oppreſſive to the ſovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who ſoon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The ſword of the nobles was broken; their ſlaves were enfranchiſed; their caſtles were demoliſhed; they aſſumed the habits of ſociety and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudeſt ariſtocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was ſubject to the laws [91]. But the feeble and diſorderly government of Rome was unequal to the taſk of curbing her rebellious ſons, who ſcorned the authority of the magiſtrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the ſtate: the barons aſſerted in arms their perſonal independence; their palaces and caſtles were fortified againſt a ſiege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vaſſals and retainers. In origin and

affection,

affection, they were aliens to their country[92]: and a genuine Roman, could ſuch have been produced, might have renounced theſe haughty ſtrangers, who diſdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly ſtyled themſelves the princes, of Rome[93]. After a dark ſeries of revolutions, all records of pedigree were loſt; the diſtinction of ſurnames was aboliſhed; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thouſand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the faireſt poſſeſſions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valour. Theſe examples might be readily preſumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of ſenators and conſuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of theſe miſerable exiles[94]. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to chriſtianity; and honoured at his baptiſm with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the ſon of Leo were ſignalized in the cauſe of Gregory the ſeventh, who entruſted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Creſcentius, or, as it is now called, the caſtle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the ſon were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of uſury, were ſhared with the nobleſt families of the city; and ſo extenſive was their alliance, that the grandſon of the proſelyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the

CHAP. LXIX.

Family of Leo the Jew.

CHAP. LXIX.

clergy and people ſupported his cauſe; he reigned ſeveral years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the ſecond, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the poſterity of Leo is no longer conſpicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of deſcending from a Jewiſh ſtock. It is not my deſign to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or thoſe which are continued in different degrees of ſplendour to the preſent time [95]. The old conſular line of the *Frangipani* diſcover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and ſuch benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclоſed, with their allies the *Corſi*, a ſpacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the *Savelli*, as it ſhould ſeem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obſolete ſurname of the *Capizucchi* is inſcribed on the coins of the firſt ſenators; the *Conti* preſerve the honour, without the eſtate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* muſt have been very ignorant, or very modeſt, if they had not deſcended from the Carthagenian hero [96].

The Colonna,

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I diſtinguiſh the rival houſes of COLONNA and URSINI, whoſe private ſtory is an eſſential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna [97] have been

the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Chriſt's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Iſraelites in the deſert. Their firſt hiſtorical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, atteſts the power and antiquity, while it explains the ſimple meaning, of the name. By the uſurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paſchal the ſecond; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna;* and the latter of theſe towns was probably adorned with ſome lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple[98]. They likewiſe poſſeſſed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tuſculum; a ſtrong preſumption of their deſcent from the counts of Tuſculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apoſtolic ſee. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote ſource was derived from the banks of the Rhine[99]; and the ſovereigns of Germany were not aſhamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of ſeven hundred years has been often illuſtrated by merit, and always by fortune[100]. About the end of the thirteenth century, the moſt powerful branch was compoſed of an uncle and ſix brothers, all conſpicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of theſe, Peter was elected ſenator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in

CHAP. LXIX.

CHAP. LXIX.

some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar [101]. After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms [102]. He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tyber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Prænestе, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprize of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins

which were granted them againſt the accomplices and heirs of the deceaſed pope. All the ſpiritual cenſures and diſqualifications were aboliſhed [103] by his prudent ſucceſſors; and the fortune of the houſe was more firmly eſtabliſhed by this tranſient hurricane. The boldneſs of Sciarra Colonna was ſignalized in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the firſt of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and eſteemed as an hero ſuperior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Perſecution and exile diſplayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his diſtreſs, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aſpect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was aſked, "where "is now your fortreſs?" he laid his hand on his heart, and anſwered, "here." He ſupported with the ſame virtue the return of proſperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the anceſtors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Urſini migrated from Spoleto [104]; the ſons of Urſus, as they are ſtyled in the twelfth century, from ſome eminent perſon who is only known as the father of their race. But they were ſoon diſtinguiſhed among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinſmen, the ſtrength

CHAP. LXIX.

and Urſini.

CHAP. LXIX.

of their towers, the honours of the ſenate and ſacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celeſtin the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage[105]. Their riches may be accuſed as an early abuſe of nepotiſm: the eſtates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celeſtin[106]; and Nicholas was ambitious for their ſake to ſolicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuſcany; and to inveſt them with the perpetual office of ſenators of Rome. All that has been obſerved of the greatneſs of the Colonna, will likewiſe redound to the glory of the Urſini, their conſtant and equal antagoniſts in the long hereditary feud, which diſtracted above two hundred and fifty years the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Their hereditary feuds.

The jealouſy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a ſpecious badge of diſtinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Urſini eſpouſed the title of Guelphs and the cauſe of the church. The eagle and the keys were diſplayed in their adverſe banners; and the two factions of Italy moſt furiouſly raged when the origin and nature of the diſpute were long ſince forgotten[107]. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they diſputed in arms the vacant republic: and the miſchiefs of diſcord were perpetuated by the wretched compromiſe of electing each year two rival ſenators. By their private hoſtilities, the city and country were deſolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their

alternate ſucceſs. But none of either family had fallen by the ſword, till the moſt renowned champion of the Urſini was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the younger Stephen Colonna [108]. His triumph is ſtained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was baſely avenged by the aſſaſſination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two ſervants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared ſenator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muſe of Petrarch inſpired a wiſh, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the ſon of his venerable hero, would reſtore Rome and Italy to their priſtine glory; that his juſtice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the ſerpents and *bears*, who laboured to ſubvert the eternal baſis of the marble COLUMN [109].

CHAP. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch. — Reſtoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi. — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulſion and Death. — Return of the Popes from Avignon. — Great Schiſm of the Weſt. — Re-union of the Latin Church. — Laſt Struggles of Roman Liberty. — Statutes of Rome. — Final Settlement of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

CHAP. LXX.

Petrarch, A. D. 1304, June 19 — A. D. 1374, July 19.

In the apprehenſion of Modern times, Petrarch[1] is the Italian ſongſter of Laura and Love. In the harmony of his Tuſcan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verſe, or at leaſt his name, is repeated by the enthuſiaſm, or affectation, of amorous ſenſibility. Whatever may be the private taſte of a ſtranger, his ſlight and ſuperficial knowledge ſhould humbly acquieſce in the judgment of a learned nation: yet I may hope or preſume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of ſonnets and elegies, with the ſublime compoſitions of their epic muſe, the original wildneſs of Dante, the regular beauties of Taſſo, and the boundleſs variety of the incomparable Arioſto. The merits of the lover, I am ſtill leſs qualified

CHAP. LXX.

to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned [2]; for a matron so prolific [3], that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children [4], while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse [5]. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings [6] be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry [7], and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court [8], was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor [9]: the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol, inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard [10]; and the laurel [11] was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or

CHAP. LXX.

prudence of Laura was inexorable [12], he enjoyed, and might boaſt of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the moſt delicate kind, ſince he applauds the ſucceſs of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or ſecret oppoſition of envy and prejudice, was ſurmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-ſixth year of his age, he was ſolicited to accept the object of his wiſhes: and on the ſame day, in the ſolitude of Vaucluſe, he received a ſimilar and ſolemn invitation from the ſenate of Rome and the univerſity of Paris. The learning of a theological ſchool, and the ignorance of a lawleſs city, were alike unqualified to beſtow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applauſe of the public and of poſterity: but the candidate diſmiſſed this troubleſome reflection, and, after ſome moments of complacency and ſuſpenſe, preferred the ſummons of the metropolis of the world.

His poetic coronation at Rome, A. D. 1341, April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation [13] was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in ſcarlet; ſix repreſentatives of the moſt illuſtrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the proceſſion; in the midſt of the princes and nobles, the ſenator, count of Anguillara, a kinſman of the Colonna, aſſumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald, Petrarch aroſe. After diſcourſing on a text of Virgil, and thrice

repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and "the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma" which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompence of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins, confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults

CHAP. LXX.

of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondneſs the laſt of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the paſt, in the hope of the future, was pleaſed to forget the miſeries of the preſent time. Rome was ſtill the lawful miſtreſs of the world: the pope and the emperor, her biſhop and general, had abdicated their ſtation by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and the Danube; but if ſhe could reſume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidſt the indulgence of enthuſiaſm and eloquence [15], Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were aſtoniſhed by a revolution which realized for a moment his moſt ſplendid viſions. The riſe and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages [16]: the ſubject is intereſting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard [17] will ſometimes vivify the copious, but ſimple, narrative of the Florentine [18], and more eſpecially of the Roman [19] hiſtorian.

Birth, character, and patriotic deſigns of Rienzi.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a waſherwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome [20]. From ſuch parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully beſtowed, was the cauſe of his glory and untimely end. The ſtudy of hiſtory and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæſar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius

of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their "virtue, their justice, their power? why was I "not born in those happy times [21]?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind: but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

pecuniary injury, were moſt deeply wounded in the diſhonour of their wives and daughters [22]: they were equally oppreſſed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magiſtrates; and the abuſe of arms or of laws was the only circumſtance that diſtinguiſhed the lions, from the dogs and ſerpents, of the Capitol. Theſe allegorical emblems were variouſly repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the ſtreets and churches; and while the ſpectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the ſatire, inflamed their paſſions, and announced a diſtant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal ſovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private diſcourſe; and a monument of ſervitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the ſenate, which granted the moſt ample prerogatives to the emperor Veſpaſian, had been inſcribed on a copper-plate ſtill extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran [23]. A numerous aſſembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and myſterious habit, explained the inſcription by a verſion and commentary [24]; and deſcanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the ſenate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The ſupine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of diſcerning the

CHAP. LXX.

serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus [25] was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

He assumes the government of Rome, A. D. 1347, May 20;

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprize; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without

CHAP. LXX.

arms, before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-eſtabliſhment of the good eſtate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty maſſes of the Holy Ghoſt; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, iſſued from the church, encompaſſed by the hundred conſpirators. The pope's vicar, the ſimple biſhop of Orvieto, who had been perſuaded to ſuſtain a part in this ſingular ceremony, marched on his right-hand; and three great ſtandards were borne aloft as the emblems of their deſign. In the firſt, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was ſeated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn ſword, was delineated in the banner of *juſtice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the preſence and applauſe of an innumerable crowd, who underſtood little, and hoped much; and the proceſſion ſlowly rolled forwards from the caſtle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was diſturbed by ſome ſecret emotions which he laboured to ſuppreſs: he aſcended without oppoſition, and with ſeeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the moſt flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if deſtitute of arms and counſels, beheld in ſilent conſternation this ſtrange revolution; and the moment had been prudently choſen, when the moſt formidable, Stephen Colonna, was abſent from the city. On the firſt rumour, he returned

to

to his palace, affected to deſpiſe this plebeian tumult, and declared to the meſſenger of Rienzi, that at his leiſure he would caſt the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell inſtantly rang an alarm, and ſo rapid was the tide, ſo urgent was the danger, that Colonna eſcaped with precipitation to the ſuburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreſhment he continued the ſame ſpeedy career till he reached in ſafety his caſtle of Paleſtrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the ſpark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was iſſued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they ſhould peaceably retire to their eſtates: they obeyed: and their departure ſecured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

CHAP. LXX.

But ſuch voluntary obedience evaporates with the firſt tranſports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of juſtifying his uſurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have diſplayed their attachment and authority, by laviſhing on his head the names of ſenator or conſul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modeſt appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the eſſence of that ſacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been inveſted with any ſhare in the legiſlative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the conſent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the moſt ſalutary laws for the reſtoration

with the title and office of tribune.

Laws of the good eſtate.

CHAP. LXX.

and maintenance of the good eſtate. By the firſt he fulfils the wiſh of honeſty and inexperience, that no civil ſuit ſhould be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might juſtify the pronouncing againſt a falſe accuſer the ſame penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the diſorders of the times might compel the legiſlator to puniſh every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of juſtice was hopeleſs till he had previouſly aboliſhed the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the ſupreme magiſtrate, ſhould poſſeſs or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the ſtate: that no private garriſons ſhould be introduced into the towns or caſtles of the Roman territory; that none ſhould bear arms or preſume to fortify their houſes in the city or country; that the barons ſhould be reſponſible for the ſafety of the highways and the free paſſage of proviſions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers ſhould be expiated by a fine of a thouſand marks of ſilver. But theſe regulations would have been impotent and nugatory; had not the licentious nobles been awed by the ſword of the civil power. A ſudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol, could ſtill ſummon to the ſtandard above twenty thouſand volunteers: the ſupport of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coaſt, a veſſel was ſtationed for the aſſurance of commerce; a ſtanding militia of

three hundred and ſixty horſe and thirteen hundred foot was levied, cloathed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the ſpirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every ſoldier who loſt his life in the ſervice of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the eſtabliſhment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of ſacrilege, the revenues of the apoſtolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the ſalt-duty, and the cuſtoms, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thouſand florins[26]; and ſcandalous were the abuſes, if in four or five months the amount of the ſalt-duty could be trebled by his judicious œconomy. After thus reſtoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their ſolitary independence; required their perſonal appearance in the Capitol; and impoſed an oath, of allegiance to the new government, and of ſubmiſſion to the laws of the good eſtate. Apprehenſive for their ſafety, but ſtill more apprehenſive of the danger of a refuſal, the princes and barons returned to their houſes at Rome in the garb of ſimple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Urſini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had ſo often derided, and their diſgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly ſtruggled to diſguiſe. The ſame oath

CHAP. LXX.

was ſucceſſively pronounced by the ſeveral orders of ſociety, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artiſans, and the gradual deſcent was marked by the increaſe of ſincerity and zeal. They ſwore to live and die with the republic and the church, whoſe intereſt was artfully united by the nominal aſſociation of the biſhop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boaſt of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious ariſtocracy; and Clement the ſixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the profeſſions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his truſty ſervant. The ſpeech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inſpired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he inſinuated his claim to a ſupernatural miſſion from the Holy Ghoſt: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confeſſion and communion; and ſtrictly guarded the ſpiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people [27].

Freedom and proſperity of the Roman republic.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a ſingle mind been more remarkably felt than in the ſudden, though tranſient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the diſcipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, ſwift to redreſs, inexorable to puniſh, his tribunal was always acceſſible to the poor and ſtranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houſes,

the private ſanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of juſtice would preſume to treſpaſs, were aboliſhed; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was expoſed in his own palace to the double ſhame of being deſirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been ſtolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Urſini family, was condemned to reſtore the damage, and to diſcharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the perſons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houſes: and either from accident or deſign, the ſame impartial rigour was exerciſed againſt the heads of the adverſe factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himſelf been ſenator of Rome, was arreſted in the ſtreet for injury or debt; and juſtice was appeaſed by the tardy execution of Martin Urſini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a ſhipwrecked veſſel at the mouth of the Tyber [28]. His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal diſeaſe, were diſregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had choſen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was ſhort and ſatisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: ſtript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the ſentence of death; and after a brief confeſſion, Urſini was led away to the gallows.

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

After ſuch an example, none who were conſcious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, ſoon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (ſays the hiſtorian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infeſted with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims viſited the ſanctuaries; the roads and inns were repleniſhed with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were reſtored in the markets; and a purſe of gold might be expoſed without danger in the midſt of the highway. As ſoon as the life and property of the ſubject are ſecure, the labours and rewards of induſtry ſpontaneouſly revive: Rome was ſtill the metropolis of the Chriſtian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffuſed in every country by the ſtrangers who had enjoyed the bleſſings of his government.

The tribune is reſpected in Italy, etc.

The deliverance of his country inſpired Rienzi with a vaſt, and perhaps viſionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great fœderative republic, of which Rome ſhould be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and aſſociates. His pen was not leſs eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epiſtles were delivered to ſwift and truſty meſſengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traverſed the foreſts and mountains; enjoyed, in the moſt hoſtile ſtates, the ſacred ſecurity of ambaſſadors; and reported, in the ſtyle of flattery or truth, that the highways along their paſſage were lined

with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the ſucceſs of their undertaking. Could paſſion have liſtened to reaſon; could private intereſt have yielded to the public welfare; the ſupreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their inteſtine diſcord, and cloſed the Alps againſt the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious ſeaſon had elapſed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good eſtate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuſcany muſt deſpiſe, or hate, the plebeian author of a free conſtitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the moſt friendly and reſpectful anſwers: they were followed by the ambaſſadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occaſions of pleaſure or buſineſs, the low-born notary could aſſume the familiar or majeſtic courteſy of a ſovereign [29]. The moſt glorious circumſtance of his reign was an appeal to his juſtice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her huſband, had been perfidiouſly ſtrangled by Jane queen of Naples [30]: her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a ſolemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates [31], the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cauſe, which was ſoon determined by the ſword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more eſpecially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curioſity, wonder, and applauſe.

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

and celebrated by Petrarch.

Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the ſecret counſellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the moſt ardent ſpirit of patriotiſm and joy; and all reſpect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was loſt in the ſuperior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with ſome apprehenſion and advice the moſt lofty hopes of the permanent and riſing greatneſs of the republic [32].

His vices and follies,

While Petrarch indulged theſe prophetic viſions, the Roman hero was faſt declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with aſtoniſhment on the aſcending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its courſe, and the viciſſitudes of light and obſcurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterpriſing than reſolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reaſon: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not preſume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of proſperity, his virtues were inſenſibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; juſtice with cruelty, liberality with profuſion, and the deſire of fame with puerile and oſtentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, ſo ſtrong and ſacred in the public opinion, were not diſtinguiſhed in ſtyle, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian [33]; and that as often as they viſited the city on foot, a ſingle *viator*, or beadle, attended the

exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor "NICOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER "OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY [34]; FRIEND OF "MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND "JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person [35], till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was cloathed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and inclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head: a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

The pomp of his knighthood, A. D. 1347, Auguſt 1.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry [36] betrayed the meanneſs of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equeſtrian tribune was not leſs odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deſerted. All that yet remained of treaſure, or luxury, or art, was exhauſted on that ſolemn day. Rienzi led the proceſſion from the Capitol to the Lateran, the tedioufneſs of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambaſſadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or ſecretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Conſtantine, he thanked and diſmiſſed the numerous aſſembly, with an invitation to the feſtival of the enſuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghoſt; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no ſtep of his life did Rienzi excite ſuch ſcandal and cenſure as by the profane uſe of the porphyry vaſe, in which Conſtantine (a fooliſh legend) had been healed of his leproſy by pope Sylveſter [37]. With equal preſumption the tribune watched or repoſed within the conſecrated precincts of the baptiſtery; and the failure of his ſtate-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfal. At the hour of worſhip he ſhewed himſelf to the returning crowds in a majeſtic attitude, with a robe of purple, his

CHAP. LXX.

ſword, and gilt ſpurs; but the holy rites were ſoon interrupted by his levity and inſolence. Riſing from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We ſummon to our tribunal pope Clement; "and command him to reſide in his dioceſe of "Rome: we alſo ſummon the ſacred college of "cardinals [38]. We again ſummon the two pre-"tenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of "Bavaria, who ſtyle themſelves emperors: we "likewiſe ſummon all the electors of Germany, "to inform us on what pretence they have uſurp-"ed the inalienable right of the Roman people, "the ancient and lawful ſovereigns of the em-"pire [39]." Unſheathing his maiden-ſword, he thrice brandiſhed it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the biſhop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble proteſt was ſilenced by martial muſic; and inſtead of withdrawing from the aſſembly, he conſented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reſerved for the ſupreme pontiff. A banquet, ſuch as the Cæſars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were ſpread with innumerable tables for either ſex, and every condition; a ſtream of wine flowed from the noſtrils of Conſtantine's brazen horſe; no complaint, except of the ſcarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiouſneſs of the multitude

CHAP. LXX.

and coronation.

was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi [40]; seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expence; and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

Fear and hatred of the nobles of Rome.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on "their breast, they stood with downcast looks "in the presence of the tribune; and they "trembled, good God, how they trembled [41]!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in

the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathize in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings; the countenance of the tribune was dark and

CHAP. LXX.

ſevere; the ſwords of the executioners were unſheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying ſpeeches by the ſound of trumpets. But in this deciſive moment, Rienzi was not leſs anxious or apprehenſive than his captives: he dreaded the ſplendour of their names, their ſurviving kinſmen, the inconſtancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after raſhly offering a mortal injury, he vainly preſumed that, if he could forgive, he might himſelf be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Chriſtian and a ſuppliant; and, as the humble miniſter of the commons, he entreated his maſters to pardon theſe noble criminals, for whoſe repentance and future ſervice he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are ſpared," ſaid the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not "promiſe to ſupport the good eſtate with your "lives and fortunes?" Aſtoniſhed by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whiſper a ſecret, and more ſincere, aſſurance of revenge. A prieſt, in the name of the people, pronounced their abſolution; they received the communion with the tribune, aſſiſted at the banquet, followed the proceſſion; and, after every ſpiritual and temporal ſign of reconciliation, were diſmiſſed in ſafety to their reſpective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, conſuls, and patricians[42].

They oppoſe Rienzi in arms.

During ſome weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their

deliverance, till the moſt powerful of the Urſini, CHAP. LXX.
eſcaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the ſtandard of rebellion. The fortifications of the caſtle were haſtily reſtored; the vaſſals attended their lord; the outlaws armed againſt the magiſtrate; the flocks and herds, the harveſts and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were ſwept away or deſtroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to leſs advantage than in the roſtrum: and he neglected the progreſs of the rebel barons till their numbers were ſtrong and their caſtles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thouſand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amuſed by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at leaſt they ſhould have been bears) as the repreſentatives of the Urſini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their ſecret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, to enter Rome by force or ſurpriſe. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were ſtrictly guarded, or inſolently open; and after ſome heſitation they ſounded a retreat. The two firſt diviſions had paſſed along the walls, but the proſpect of a free entrance tempted the headſtrong valour of

CHAP. LXX.

the nobles in the rear; and after a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, they were overthrown and maſſacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble ſpirit to whom Petrarch aſcribed the reſtoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his ſon John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the eaſe and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two baſtards of the Colonna race; and the number of ſeven, the ſeven crowns, as Rienzi ſtyled them, of the Holy Ghoſt, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had ſurvived the hope and fortune of his houſe. The viſion and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been uſed by the tribune to animate his troops [43]: he diſplayed, at leaſt in the purſuit, the ſpirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror aſcended the Capitol; depoſited his crown and ſceptre on the altar; and boaſted with ſome truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate [44]. His baſe and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expoſe with thoſe of the vileſt malefactors, were ſecretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family [45]. The people ſympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and deteſted the indecent joy of Rienzi, who viſited the ſpot where theſe illuſtrious victims

Defeat and death of the Colonna, Nov. 20.

victims had fallen. It was on that fatal ſpot, that he conferred on his ſon the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accompliſhed by a ſlight blow from each of the horſemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood [46]. CHAP. LXX.

A ſhort delay would have ſaved the Colonna, the delay of a ſingle month, which elapſed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military proweſs. A free and vigorous oppoſition was formed in the city; and when the tribune propoſed in the public council [47] to impoſe a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted againſt his meaſures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible excluſion, that, if the populace adhered to his cauſe, it was already diſclaimed by the moſt reſpectable citizens. The pope and the ſacred college had never been dazzled by his ſpecious profeſſions; they were juſtly offended by the inſolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was ſent to Italy, and after ſome fruitleſs treaty, and two perſonal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, ſacrilege, and hereſy [48]. The ſurviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a ſenſe of allegiance; their intereſt and revenge

Fall and flight of the tribune Rienzi, A. D. 1347, Dec. 15.

CHAP. LXX.

engaged them in the ſervice of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino [49] in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual impriſonment; and Petrarch, by ſoliciting his releaſe, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himſelf into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found the enterprize as eaſy as it had ſeemed impoſſible. From the firſt alarm, the bell of the Capitol inceſſantly tolled; but, inſtead of repairing to the well-known ſound, the people was ſilent and inactive; and the puſillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with ſighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome, A. D. 1347—1354

Without drawing his ſword, count Pepin reſtored the ariſtocracy and the church; three ſenators were choſen, and the legate aſſuming the firſt rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Urſini. The acts of the tribune were aboliſhed, his head was proſcribed; yet ſuch was the terror of his name, that the barons heſitated three days before they would truſt themſelves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the caſtle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The viſion of freedom

and empire had vaniſhed: their fallen ſpirit would have acquieſced in ſervitude, had it been ſmoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was ſcarcely obſerved, that the new ſenators derived their authority from the Apoſtolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial power the ſtate of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who deteſted each other, and deſpiſed the commons: their hoſtile fortreſſes, both in town and country, again roſe and were again demoliſhed; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of ſheep, were devoured, ſays the Florentine hiſtorian, by theſe rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhauſted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the preſence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two ſenators, Colonna eſcaped from the window of the palace, and Urſini was ſtoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was ſucceſſively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildneſs of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint ſtruggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of a rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was diſtinguiſhed by a reſolute ſpirit: he ſpoke the language of a patriot, and trode in the footſteps of tyrants; his ſuſpicion was a ſentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties.

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

Amidſt the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans ſighed for the peace and proſperity of the good eſtate [50].

Adventures of Rienzi.

After an exile of ſeven years, the firſt deliverer was again reſtored to his country. In the diſguiſe of a monk or a pilgrim, he eſcaped from the caſtle of St. Angelo, implored the friendſhip of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His perſon was inviſible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon ſuppoſes, and even magnifies, his perſonal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a ſtranger, who frankly revealed himſelf as the tribune of the republic; and aſtoniſhed an aſſembly of ambaſſadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the viſions of a prophet, the downfal of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghoſt [51]. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himſelf a captive; but he ſupported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irreſiſtible ſummons of the ſupreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the ſufferings and the preſence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the ſaviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her biſhop.

CHAP. LXX.

A prisoner at Avignon. A. D. 1351.

Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet[52]. Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the bible, he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

Rienzi, senator of Rome, A. D. 1354.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz[53], a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first

CHAP. LXX.

reception was equal to his wiſhes: the day of his entrance was a public feſtival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good eſtate. But this momentary ſunſhine was ſoon clouded by his own vices and thoſe of the people: in the Capitol he might often regret the priſon of Avignon; and after a ſecond adminiſtration of four months, Rienzi was maſſacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the ſociety of the Germans and Bohemians, he is ſaid to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adverſity had chilled his enthuſiaſm, without fortifying his reaſon or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively aſſurance, which is the pledge of ſucceſs, was now ſucceeded by the cold impotence of diſtruſt and deſpair. The tribune had reigned with abſolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the ſenator was the ſervile miniſter of a foreign court; and while he was ſuſpected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who ſeemed deſirous of his ruin, inflexibly refuſed all ſupplies of men and money; a faithful ſubject could no longer preſume to touch the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber; and the firſt idea of a tax was the ſignal of clamour and ſedition. Even his juſtice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of ſelfiſh cruelty: the moſt virtuous citizen of Rome was ſacrificed to his jealouſy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whoſe purſe he had been aſſiſted, the magiſtrate too much forgot, or too much remembered,

the obligations of the debtor [*]. A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed,

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

His death, A. D 1354. September 8.

if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots[55].

Petrarch invites and upbraids the emperor Charles IV. A. D. 1355, January — May.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate

the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard[56].

CHAP. LXX.

He solicits the popes of Avignon to fix their residence at Rome.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish, was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language[57]. The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tyber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was

CHAP. LXX.

desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse [58]. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-second, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth resided three years in the

Return of Urban V. A. D. 1367, October 16— A. D. 1370, April 17.

Vatican with ſafety and honour: his ſanctity was protected by a guard of two thouſand horſe; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt devoutly ſaluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was ſoon turned into grief and indignation. Some reaſons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was ſaved from the tyrannic patriotiſm of the Romans. The powers of heaven were intereſted in their cauſe: Bridget of Sweden, a ſaint and pilgrim, diſapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth; the migration of Gregory the eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the ſpouſe of Chriſt and ambaſſadreſs of the Florentines; and the popes themſelves, the great maſters of human credulity, appear to have liſtened to theſe viſionary females[59]. Yet thoſe celeſtial admonitions were ſupported by ſome arguments of temporal policy. The reſidence of Avignon had been invaded by hoſtile violence: at the head of thirty thouſand robbers, an hero had extorted ranſom and abſolution from the vicar of Chriſt and the ſacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to ſpare the people and plunder the church, was a new hereſy of the moſt dangerous import[60]. While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was ſtrenuouſly invited to Rome. The ſenate and people acknowledged him as their lawful ſovereign, and

CHAP. LXX.

Final return of Gregory XI. A. D. 1377, January 17.

CHAP. LXX.

laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortreſſes; of the quarter at leaſt beyond the Tyber [61]. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer ſuffer the ſcandal and calamity of his abſence; and that his obſtinacy would finally provoke them to revive and aſſert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount Caſſin had been conſulted, whether he would accept the triple crown [62] from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen of "Rome [63]," replied that venerable eccleſiaſtic, "and my firſt law is the voice of my country [64]."

His death, A. D. 1378, March 27.

If ſuperſtition will interpret an untimely death [65]; if the merit of counſels be judged from the event; the heavens may ſeem to frown on a meaſure of ſuch apparent reaſon and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not ſurvive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his deceaſe was followed by the great ſchiſm of the Weſt which diſtracted the Latin church above forty years. The ſacred college was then compoſed of twenty-two cardinals: ſix of theſe had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the uſual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquieſced in the archbiſhop of Bari, a ſubject of Naples, conſpicuous for his zeal and learning, who aſcended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the ſixth. The epiſtle of the ſacred college affirms

Election of Urban VI. April 9.

his free and regular election; which had been inſpired, as uſual, by the holy Ghoſt: he was

adored, inveſted, and crowned, with the cuſtomary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During ſeveral weeks, the cardinals attended their new maſter with the faireſt profeſſions of attachment and loyalty; till the ſummer-heats permitted a decent eſcape from the city. But as ſoon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of ſecurity, they caſt aſide the maſk, accuſed their own falſehood and hypocriſy, excommunicated the apoſtle and antichriſt of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the ſeventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Chriſt. Their firſt choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is juſtified by the ſtrong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were maſters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealouſies, it cannot fairly be preſumed that they would have ſacrificed their right and intereſt to a foreign candidate, who would never reſtore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconſiſtent, narratives [66], the ſhades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiouſneſs of the ſeditious Romans was inflamed by a ſenſe of their privileges, and the danger of a ſecond emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the ſhouts, and

Election of Clement VII. Sept. 21.

CHAP. LXX.

encompaſſed by the arms, of thirty thouſand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the univerſal cry; the ſame threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; ſome preparations were made for burning the obſtinate cardinals; and had they choſen a Tranſalpine ſubject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The ſame conſtraint impoſed the neceſſity of diſſembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban preſented a more inevitable danger; and they ſoon diſcovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber ſix cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly cenſured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the ſtations and duties of their pariſhes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpleſs minority in the ſacred college. For theſe reaſons, and in the hope of repaſſing the Alps, they raſhly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic ſchools[67]. The vanity, rather than the intereſt, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France[68]. The ſtates of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Caſtille, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience,

of Clement the ſeventh, and, after his deceaſe, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal ſtates of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England [66], the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the ſixth, who was ſucceeded by Boniface the ninth, Innocent the ſeventh, and Gregory the twelfth. CHAP. LXX.

Great ſchiſm of the Weſt, A. D. 1378—1418.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhone, the hoſtile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the ſword: the civil and eccleſiaſtical order of ſociety was diſturbed; and the Romans had their full ſhare of the miſchiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors [67]. They had vainly flattered themſelves with the hope of reſtoring the ſeat of the eccleſiaſtical monarchy; and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the ſeparation of France and Spain diverted the ſtream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loſs be compenſated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the ſpace of ten years. By the avocations of the ſchiſm, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the ſixth and his three ſucceſſors were often compelled to interrupt their reſidence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urſini ſtill exerciſed their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome aſſerted and abuſed the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Chriſt, who had levied a military force, chaſtiſed their rebellion with the gibbet, the ſword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people

Calamities of Rome.

CHAP. LXX.

were perfidiouſly murdered and caſt into the ſtreet. Since the invaſion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had purſued their domeſtic quarrels without the dangerous interpoſition of a ſtranger. But in the diſorders of the ſchiſm, an aſpiring neighbour, Ladiſlaus king of Naples, alternately ſupported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter ſubmitted to his choice the nomination of their magiſtrates. Beſieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garriſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. His arms were ſometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladiſlaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could ſave the metropolis and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from the ambitious conqueror, who had aſſumed the title, or at leaſt the powers, of king of Rome[71].

Negociations for peace and union, A. D. 1394—1407.

I have not undertaken the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the ſchiſm; but Rome, the object of theſe laſt chapters, is deeply intereſted in the diſputed ſucceſſion of her ſovereigns. The firſt counſels for the peace and union of Chriſtendom aroſe from the univerſity of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whoſe doctors were eſteemed, at leaſt in the Gallican church, as the moſt conſummate maſters of

of theological ſcience [72]. Prudently waving all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the diſpute, they propoſed, as an healing meaſure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon ſhould abdicate at the ſame time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverſe factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations ſhould *ſubſtract* [73] their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own intereſt to that of the public. At each vacancy, theſe phyſicians of the church deprecated the miſchiefs of an haſty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reaſon and entreaties; and whatſoever promiſes were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific deſigns of the univerſity were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the ſcruples or paſſions of their adherents, and the viciſſitudes of French factions, that ruled the infanity of Charles the ſixth. At length a vigorous reſolution was embraced; and a ſolemn embaſſy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbiſhops, five biſhops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was ſent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who ſtyled himſelf Benedict the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the ſucceſs of their commiſſion, the ambaſſadors

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

solicited a conference with the magistrate of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears "an animal fearful of the land, the other a crea- "ture apprehensive of the water. And thus for a "short remnant of life and power, will these aged "priests endanger the peace and salvation of the "Christian world [74]."

Council of Pisa, A. D. 1409.

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon;

the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant ſeat was ſoon filled by a ſimilar election of John the twenty-third, the moſt profligate of mankind. But inſtead of extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, the raſhneſs of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the ſynod and conclave were diſputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cauſe of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himſelf a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotiſm of that powerful nation. The raſh proceedings of Piſa were corrected by the council of Conſtance; the emperor Sigiſmond acted a conſpicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and eccleſiaſtical members might ſeem to conſtitute the ſtates general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the firſt victim: he fled and was brought back a priſoner: the moſt ſcandalous charges were ſuppreſſed; the vicar of Chriſt was only accuſed of piracy, murder, rape, ſodomy, and inceſt; and after ſubſcribing his own condemnation, he expiated in priſon the imprudence of truſting his perſon to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whoſe obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, deſcended with more honour from the throne, and his ambaſſador convened the ſeſſion, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquiſh the

CHAP. LXX.

Council of Conſtance, A. D. 1414—1418.

CHAP. LXX.

obstinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps, to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English* [75]: the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican [76].

Election of Martin V.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the fifth [77], and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate

Martin V. A. D. 1417, Eugenius IV. A. D. 1431, Nicholas V. A. D. 1447.

successors, Eugenius the fourth was the *last* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people[78], and Nicholas the fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor[79].

Last revolt of Rome, A. D. 1434, May 29—October 26.

I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot vollies of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff

CHAP. LXX.

understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the best security of oaths [80] and treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage of the Vatican; and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

Last coronation of a German emperor Frederic III. A. D. 1452, March 18.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewel, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace [81]. According to the laws of Rome [82], her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city;

The statutes and government of Rome.

with whoſe inhabitants he muſt not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a ſevere ſcrutiny was inſtituted into the conduct of the departing ſenator; nor could he be recalled to the ſame office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal ſalary of three thouſand florins was aſſigned for his expence and reward; and his public appearance repreſented the majeſty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimſon velvet, or in the ſummer ſeaſon of a lighter ſilk; he bore in his hand an ivory ſceptre; the ſound of trumpets announced his approach; and his ſolemn ſteps were preceded at leaſt by four lictors or attendants, whoſe red wands were enveloped with bands or ſtreamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to obſerve and aſſert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exerciſe juſtice and mercy within the extent of his juriſdiction. In theſe uſeful functions he was aſſiſted by three learned ſtrangers; the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are atteſted by the laws; and the weakneſs of theſe laws connives at the licentiouſneſs of private feuds and armed aſſociations for mutual defence. But the ſenator was confined to the adminiſtration of juſtice: the Capitol, the treaſury, and the government of the city and its territory were entruſted to the three *conſervators*, who were changed four times in each year: the

CHAP. LXX.

militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *caporioni*; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty, counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the appro-

bation, of Gregory the thirteenth [83]: this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol [84]. The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic; while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch. CHAP. LXX.

Conspiracy of Porcaro, A. D. 1453, January 9.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwel or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened

CHAP. LXX.

with apparent pleaſure, till Porcaro was interrupted and anſwered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and ſtate. By every law the ſeditious orator was guilty of treaſon; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and eſteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increaſe of reputation and zeal; and, on the firſt opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the caſual diſpute of ſome boys and mechanics into a general riſing of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was ſtill averſe to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the ſcene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his ſupport, and the eaſy obligation of preſenting himſelf each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude ſhould be obſerved: the exile declaimed againſt the arbitrary ſentence; a party and a conſpiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, aſſembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening, a feaſt was prepared at his houſe for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had eſcaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his geſtures, beſpoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cauſe. In a ſtudied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their

enterprize: the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country [85]. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of

CHAP. LXX.

CHAP. LXX.

bread, ſuch accidental tumults may be found in the boſom of the moſt abject ſervitude.

Laſt diſorders of the nobles of Rome.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by diſcord, ſurvived the freedom of the commons, which muſt be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppreſſion was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houſes were a fortreſs and a ſanctuary: and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hoſpitality with the ſervice of their ſwords and daggers. The private intereſt of the pontiffs, or their nephews, ſometimes involved them in theſe domeſtic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was diſtracted by the battles and ſieges of the rival houſes: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the ſpot, for refuſing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Urſini [86]. But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had ſtrength to command, if they had reſolution to claim, the obedience of their ſubjects; and the ſtrangers, who obſerved theſe partial diſorders, admired the eaſy taxes and wiſe adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate [87].

The popes acquire the abſolute dominion of Rome, A. D. 1500, etc.

The ſpiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be ſupplanted by reaſon or paſſion, the ſound may idly waſte itſelf in the air; and the helpleſs prieſt is expoſed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adverſary. But after their return

from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the ſword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the uſe of cannon is a powerful engine againſt popular ſeditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enliſted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues ſupplied the reſources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hoſtile neighbours and loyal ſubjects [88]. Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the ſixteenth century, the greater part of that ſpacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal ſovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the ſucceſſive ſteps of their final ſettlement would engage us too far in the tranſactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the ſixth, the martial operations of Julius the ſecond, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the nobleſt hiſtorians of the times [89]. In the firſt period of their conqueſts, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might ſucceſsfully wreſtle with the adjacent princes and ſtates, whoſe military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as ſoon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with

CHAP. LXX.

gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they ſupplied with art the deficiency of ſtrength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aſpiring views, and the immortal hope of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often ſubverted by the ſoldiers of the North and Weſt, who were united under the ſtandard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the ſeventh expoſed his perſon and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned ſeven months to a lawleſs army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals [90]. After this ſevere leſſon, the popes contracted their ambition; which was almoſt ſatisfied, reſumed the character of a common parent, and abſtained from all offenſive hoſtilities, except in an haſty quarrel, when the vicar of Chriſt and the Turkiſh ſultan were armed at the ſame time againſt the kingdom of Naples [91]. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the ſea-coaſt of Tuſcany, were firmly poſſeſſed by the Spaniards; and it became their intereſt to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almoſt without diſturbance from the middle of the ſixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was ſwayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and intereſt diſpoſed him in every diſpute to ſupport the prince againſt the people; and inſtead of the encouragement, the aid, and the aſylum,

which they obtained from the adjacent ſtates, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were encloſed on all ſides within the iron circle of deſpotiſm. The long habits of obedience and education ſubdued the turbulent ſpirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their anceſtors, and inſenſibly became the ſervants of luxury and government. Inſtead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their eſtates was conſumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleaſures, and diminiſh the power, of the lord [92]. The Colonna and Urſini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique ſplendour was rivalled or ſurpaſſed by the ſudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and diſcord is no longer heard; and, inſtead of the foaming torrent, a ſmooth and ſtagnant lake reflects the image of idleneſs and ſervitude.

CHAP. LXX.

The eccleſiaſtical government.

A Chriſtian, a philoſopher [93], and a patriot, will be equally ſcandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majeſty of Rome, the remembrance of her conſuls and triumphs, may ſeem to embitter the ſenſe, and aggravate the ſhame, of her ſlavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the eccleſiaſtical government, it may be praiſed in its preſent ſtate as a mild, decent, and tranquil ſyſtem, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the ſallies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But theſe advantages are overbalanced

CHAP. LXX.

by a frequent, perhaps a ſeptennial, election of a ſovereign, who is ſeldom a native of the country: the reign of a *young* ſtateſman of threeſcore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accompliſh, and without children to inherit, the labours of his tranſitory reign. The ſucceſsful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the moſt adverſe to reaſon, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of ſervile faith, he has learned to believe becauſe it is abſurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to deſpiſe whatever might deſerve the eſteem of a rational being; to puniſh error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the firſt of virtues; to place the ſaints of the kalendar [94] above the heroes of Rome and the ſages of Athens; and to conſider the miſſal, or the crucifix, as more uſeful inſtruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire ſome knowledge of the world, but the primitive ſtain will adhere to his mind and manners; from ſtudy and experience he may ſuſpect the myſtery of his profeſſion; but the ſacerdotal artiſt will imbibe ſome portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the fifth [95] burſt from the gloom of a Franciſcan cloiſter. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, aboliſhed the *profane* ſanctuaries of Rome [96], formed a naval and military force, reſtored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal

Sixtus V. A. D. 1585—1590.

uſe

uſe and large increaſe of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the caſtle of St. Angelo. But his juſtice was ſullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conqueſt; after his deceaſe, the abuſes revived; the treaſure was diſſipated; he entailed on poſterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his ſtatue was demoliſhed by an ungrateful, or an injured, people [97]. The wild and original character of Sixtus the fifth ſtands alone in the ſeries of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the poſitive and comparative view of the arts and philoſophy, the agriculture and trade the wealth and population, of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. For myſelf, it is my wiſh to depart in charity with all mankind; nor am I willing, in theſe laſt moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome."

CHAP. LXXI.

Proſpect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century.— Four Cauſes of Decay and Deſtruction.— Example of the Coliſeum.— Renovation of the City— Concluſion of the whole Work.

CHAP. LXXI. View and diſcourſe of Poggius from the Capitoline hill, A. D. 1430.

IN the laſt days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his ſervants, the learned Poggius [1] and a friend, aſcended the Capitoline hill; repoſed themſelves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding ſpot the wide and various proſpect of deſolation [2]. The place and the object gave ample ſcope for moralizing on the viciſſitudes of fortune, which ſpares neither man nor the proudeſt of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatneſs, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primæval "ſtate, ſuch as ſhe might appear in a remote "age, when Evander entertained the ſtranger of "Troy [3], has been delineated by the fancy of "Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a ſavage "and ſolitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it "was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; "the temple is overthrown, the gold has been

" pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accompliſhed
" her revolution, and the ſacred ground is again
" diſfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill
" of the Capitol, on which we ſit, was formerly
" the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of
" the earth, the terror of kings; illuſtrated by
" the footſteps of ſo many triumphs, enriched
" with the ſpoils and tributes of ſo many nations.
" This ſpectacle of the world, how is it fallen!
" how changed! how defaced! the path of victory
" is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the
" ſenators are concealed by a dunghill. Caſt
" your eyes on the Palatine hill, and ſeek among
" the ſhapeleſs and enormous fragments, the
" marble theatre, the obeliſks, the coloſſal ſtatues,
" the porticoes of Nero's palace: ſurvey the
" other hills of the city, the vacant ſpace is
" interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The
" forum of the Roman people, where they
" aſſembled to enact their laws and elect their
" magiſtrates, is now encloſed for the cultivation
" of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception
" of ſwine and buffaloes. The public and private
" edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie
" proſtrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs
" of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more
" viſible, from the ſtupendous relics that have
" ſurvived the injuries of time and fortune [4]."

His deſcription of the ruins.

Theſe relics are minutely deſcribed by Poggius, one of the firſt who raiſed his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to thoſe of claſſic, ſuperſtition [5]. 1. Beſides a bridge, an arch, a

CHAP. LXXI.

sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ* or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and

private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the ſituation and the form could be inveſtigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were ſtill erect; but the Egyptian obeliſks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanſhip of art, was reduced to one equeſtrian figure of gilt braſs, and to five marble ſtatues, of which the moſt conſpicuous were the two horſes of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mauſoleums or ſepulchres of Auguſtus and Hadrian could not totally be loſt; but the former was only viſible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the caſtle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortreſs. With the addition of ſome ſeparate and nameleſs columns, ſuch were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent ſtructure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and ſeventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

Gradual decay of Rome.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Weſtern empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of diſtreſs and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of reſtoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human muſt retrograde if it do not advance, every ſucceſſive age muſt have haſtened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To meaſure

CHAP. LXXI.

the progreſs of decay, and to aſcertain at each æra the ſtate of each edifice, would be an endleſs and a uſeleſs labour, and I ſhall content myſelf with two obſervations which will introduce a ſhort enquiry into the general cauſes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer compoſed a deſcription of Rome [6]. His ignorance may repeat the ſame objects under ſtrange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could obſerve the viſible remains, he could liſten to the tradition of the people, and he diſtinctly enumerates ſeven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had diſappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many ſtately monuments of antiquity ſurvived till a late period [7], and that the principles of deſtruction acted with vigorous and increaſing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The ſame reflection muſt be applied to the three laſt ages; and we ſhould vainly ſeek the Septizonium of Severus [8], which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the ſixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were ſtill entire, the firſt blows, however weighty and impetuous, were reſiſted by the ſolidity of the maſs and the harmony of the parts; but the ſlighteſt touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

Four cauſes of deſtruction:

After a diligent enquiry, I can diſcern four principal cauſes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a

thouſand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians. III. The uſe and abuſe of the materials. And, IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans. CHAP. LXXI.

I. The art of man is able to conſtruct monuments far more permanent than the narrow ſpan of his own exiſtence: yet theſe monuments, like himſelf, are periſhable and frail; and in the boundleſs annals of time, his life and his labours muſt equally be meaſured as a fleeting moment. Of a ſimple and ſolid edifice, it is not eaſy however to circumſcribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids [9] attracted the curioſity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn [10], have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæſars and caliphs, the ſame pyramids ſtand erect and unſhaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more acceſſible to injury and decay; and the ſilent lapſe of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtleſs been ſhaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations: but the ſeven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been expoſed to the convulſions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Liſbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into duſt. Fire is the moſt powerful

I. The injuries of nature;

hurricanes and earthquakes;

fires;

CHAP. LXXI.

agent of life and death: the rapid miſchief may be kindled and propagated by the induſtry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of ſimilar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either ſix, or nine days [11]. Innumerable buildings, crowded in cloſe and crooked ſtreets, ſupplied perpetual fewel for the flames; and when they ceaſed, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally deſtroyed, and ſeven were deformed by the relics of ſmoking and lacerated edifices [12]. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis aroſe with freſh beauty from her aſhes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable loſſes, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of diſtreſs and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be reſtored either by the public care of government or the activity of private intereſt. Yet two cauſes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more deſtructive to a flouriſhing than a decayed city. 1. The more combuſtible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are firſt melted or conſumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls, and maſſy arches, that have been deſpoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a miſchievous ſpark is moſt eaſily blown to a

conflagration; but as ſoon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have reſiſted or eſcaped, are left as ſo many iſlands in a ſtate of ſolitude and ſafety. From her ſituation, Rome is expoſed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that deſcend from either ſide of the Apennine have a ſhort and irregular courſe: a ſhallow ſtream in the ſummer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is ſwelled in the ſpring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the ſnows. When the current is repelled from the ſea by adverſe winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they riſe above the banks, and overſpread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the firſt Punic war, the Tyber was increaſed by unuſual rains; and the inundation, ſurpaſſing all former meaſure of time and place, deſtroyed all the buildings that were ſituate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the ſame miſchief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either ſwept away by the ſudden impulſe, or diſſolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood [13]. Under the reign of Auguſtus, the ſame calamity was renewed: the lawleſs river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks [14]; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleanſing and widening the bed that was incumbered with ruins [15], the vigilance of his ſucceſſors was exerciſed by ſimilar dangers and deſigns. The

CHAP. LXXI.

inundations.

CHAP. LXXI.

project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itſelf, or ſome of the dependent ſtreams, was long oppoſed by ſuperſtition and local intereſts [16]; nor did the uſe compenſate the toil and coſt of the tardy and imperfect execution. The ſervitude of rivers is the nobleſt and moſt important victory which man has obtained over the licentiouſneſs of nature [17]; and if ſuch were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppoſe, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Weſtern empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itſelf: the accumulation of rubbiſh and the earth, that has been waſhed down from the hills, is ſuppoſed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level [18]: and the modern city is leſs acceſſible to the attacks of the river [19].

II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians.

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the deſtruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Chriſtians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an hoſtile principle, and how far they poſſeſſed the means and the leiſure to ſatiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this Hiſtory, I have deſcribed the triumph of barbariſm and religion; and I can only reſume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleaſing romance, that the Goths and Vandals ſallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin [20], to break the chains, and to

CHAP. LXXI.

chaſtiſe the oppreſſors, of mankind; that they wiſhed to burn the records of claſſic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuſcan and Corinthian orders. But in ſimple truth, the northern conquerors were neither ſufficiently ſavage, nor ſufficiently refined, to entertain ſuch aſpiring ideas of deſtruction and revenge. The ſhepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whoſe diſcipline they acquired, and whoſe weakneſs they invaded: with the familiar uſe of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to aboliſh, the arts and ſtudies of a brighter period. In the tranſient poſſeſſion of a rich and unreſiſting capital, the ſoldiers of Alaric and Genſeric were ſtimulated by the paſſions of a victorious army; amidſt the wanton indulgence of luſt or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their ſearch; nor could they derive either pride or pleaſure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the conſuls and Cæſars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the ſixth [21], the Vandals on the fifteenth, day [22]; and, though it be far more difficult to build than to deſtroy, their haſty aſſault would have made a ſlight impreſſion on the ſolid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genſeric affected to ſpare the buildings of the city; that they ſubſiſted in ſtrength and

CHAP. LXXI.

beauty under the auſpicious government of Theodoric [23]; and that the momentary reſentment of Totila [24] was diſarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From theſe innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The ſtatues, altars, and houſes, of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the abſolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perſeverance to eraze the idolatry of their anceſtors. The demolition of the temples in the Eaſt [25] affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with juſtice to the Roman proſelytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen ſuperſtition; and the civil ſtructures that were dedicated to the buſineſs or pleaſure of ſociety might be preſerved without injury or ſcandal. The change of religion was accompliſhed, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the ſenate, and of time. Of the Chriſtian hierarchy, the biſhops of Rome were commonly the moſt prudent and leaſt fanatic: nor can any poſitive charge be oppoſed to the meritorious act of ſaving and converting the majeſtic ſtructure of the Pantheon [26].

III. The uſe and abuſe of the materials.

III. The value of any object that ſupplies the wants or pleaſures of mankind, is compounded of its ſubſtance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price muſt depend on the number of perſons by whom it may be acquired

and uſed; on the extent of the market; and conſequently on the eaſe or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local ſituation, and the temporary circumſtances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome uſurped in a moment the toil and treaſure of ſucceſſive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate conſumption, they muſt view without deſire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals [27]. Gold and ſilver were the firſt objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the ſmalleſt compaſs, they repreſent the moſt ample command of the induſtry and poſſeſſions of mankind. A vaſe or a ſtatue of thoſe precious metals might tempt the vanity of ſome Barbarian chief; but the groſſer multitude, regardleſs of the form, was tenacious only of the ſubſtance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and ſtamped into the current coin of the empire. The leſs active or leſs fortunate robbers were reduced to the baſer plunder of braſs, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had eſcaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Conſtans, in his rapacious viſit, ſtripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon [28]. The edifices of Rome might be conſidered as a vaſt and various mine; the firſt labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and caſt; the marbles were hewn and poliſhed; and after foreign and

CHAP. LXXI.

CHAP. LXXI. domeſtic rapine had been ſatiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaſer have been found, were ſtill venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demoliſh with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could ſurpaſs the coſt of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the ſeat of the Weſtern empire, his genius would have aſpired to reſtore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæſars: but policy confined the French monarch to the foreſts of Germany; his taſte could be gratified only by deſtruction, and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna [29] and Rome [30]. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wiſeſt and moſt liberal ſovereign of the age, was ſupplied with the ſame materials by the eaſy navigation of the Tyber and the ſea; and Petrarch ſighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world ſhould adorn from her own bowels the ſlothful luxury of Naples [31]. But theſe examples of plunder or purchaſe were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public uſe the remaining ſtructures of antiquity, if in their preſent form and ſituation they had not been uſeleſs in a great meaſure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls ſtill deſcribed the old circumference, but the city had deſcended from the ſeven hills into the Campus Martius; and ſome of the nobleſt monuments

which had braved the injuries of time were left in a defert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the fenators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent fucceffors: the ufe of baths[32] and porticoes was forgotten: in the fixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: fome temples were devoted to the prevailing worfhip; but the Chriftian churches preferred the holy figure of the crofs; and fafhion, or reafon, had diftributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyfter. Under the eccleſiaſtical reign, the number of thefe pious foundations was enormoufly multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monafteries of men, twenty of women, and fixty chapters and colleges of canons and prieſts[33], who aggravated, inſtead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were difregarded by a people inſenſible of their ufe and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of neceſſity or ſuperſtition; till the faireſt columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richeſt marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the ſupport of a convent or a ſtable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Aſia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual deſtruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excuſed for employing the ſtones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's[34].

CHAP. LXXI.

A fragment, a ruin, howſoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleaſure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of ſubſtance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpoſe of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord [35], and many capital ſtructures, had vaniſhed from his eyes; and an epigram of the ſame age expreſſes a juſt and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity [36]. The ſmallneſs of their numbers was the ſole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the preſence of a mighty people [37]; and I heſitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible liſt of thirty-three thouſand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thouſand [38], the increaſe of citizens was in ſome degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans.

IV. I have reſerved for the laſt, the moſt potent and forcible cauſe of deſtruction, the domeſtic hoſtilities of the Romans themſelves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was diſturbed by accidental, though frequent, ſeditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiouſneſs of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Goſpel;

without

without reſpecting the majeſty of the abſent ſovereign, or the preſence and perſon of the vicar of Chriſt. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the ſanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urſini; and if much has eſcaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of hiſtory, I have expoſed in the two preceding chapters, the cauſes and effects of the public diſorders. At ſuch a time, when every quarrel was decided by the ſword; and none could truſt their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for ſafety or offence, againſt the domeſtic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the ſame dangers and deſigns were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles uſurped the prerogative of fortifying their houſes, and erecting ſtrong towers [39] that were capable of reſiſting a ſudden attack. The cities were filled with theſe hoſtile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law, which confined their height to the meaſure of fourſcore feet, may be extended with ſuitable latitude to the more opulent and populous ſtates. The firſt ſtep of the ſenator Brancaleone in the eſtabliſhment of peace and juſtice, was to demoliſh (as we have already ſeen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the laſt days of anarchy and diſcord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four ſtill ſtood in one

CHAP. LXXI.

CHAP. LXXI.

of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this miſchievous purpoſe, the remains of antiquity were moſt readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and ſolid baſis for the new ſtructures of brick and ſtone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raiſed on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæſar, Titus, and the Antonines [40]. With ſome ſlight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mauſoleum, was transformed into a ſtrong and ſpacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has aſſumed the title and form of the caſtle of St. Angelo [41]; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of ſtanding againſt a royal army [42]; the ſepulchre of Metella has ſunk under its outworks [43]; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Urſini families [44]; and the rough fortreſs has been gradually ſoftened to the ſplendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompaſſed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the ſcandal of the Chriſtian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be deſtroyed. Could the Romans have wreſted from the popes the caſtle of St. Angelo, they had reſolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of ſervitude. Every building of defence was expoſed to a ſiege; and in every ſiege the arts and engines of deſtruction were laborioufly employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome,

without a ſovereign or a ſenate, was abandoned CHAP. ſix months to the fury of civil war. " The LXXI. " houſes," ſays a cardinal and poet of the times [45], " were cruſhed by the weight and velocity of " enormous ſtones [46]; the walls were perforated " by the ſtrokes of the battering-ram; the towers " were involved in fire and ſmoke; and the aſ- " ſailants were ſtimulated by rapine and re- " venge." The work was conſummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exerciſed a blind and thoughtleſs vengeance on their adverſaries, whoſe houſes and caſtles they razed to the ground [47]. In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domeſtic, hoſtility, we muſt pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. " Behold," ſays the laureat, " the " relics of Rome, the image of her priſtine great- " neſs! neither time nor the Barbarian can boaſt " the merit of this ſtupendous deſtruction: it was " perpetrated by her own citizens, by the moſt " illuſtrious of her ſons; and your anceſtors (he " writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with " the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could " not accompliſh with the ſword [48]." The influence of the two laſt principles of decay muſt in ſome degree be multiplied by each other; ſince the houſes and towers, which were ſubverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual ſupply from the monuments of antiquity.

CHAP. LXX.

The Coliseum or amphitheatre of Titus.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM [49], either from its magnitude or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals [50]: the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades [51]. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North;

and their rude enthuſiaſm broke forth in a ſublime proverbial expreſſion; which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliſeum ſtands, Rome "ſhall ſtand; when the Coliſeum falls, Rome "will fall; when Rome falls, the world will "fall [52]." In the modern ſyſtem of war, a ſituation commanded by three hills would not be choſen for a fortreſs; but the ſtrength of the walls and arches could reſiſt the engines of aſſault; a numerous garriſon might be lodged in the encloſure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliſeum [53].

CHAP. LXXI.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games muſt be underſtood with ſome latitude; and the carnival ſports, of the Teſtacean mount and the Circus Agonalis [54], were regulated by the law [55] or cuſtom of the city. The ſenator preſided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and diſtribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium* [56], as it was ſtyled, of cloth or ſilk. A tribute on the Jews ſupplied the annual expence [57]; and the races, on foot, on horſeback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of ſeventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feaſt, after the faſhion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliſeum itſelf; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times [58]. A convenient order of benches was reſtored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and

Games of Rome.

A bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, A. D. 1332, September 3.

CHAP. LXXI.

Ravenna, invited the nobles to exerciſe their ſkill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marſhalled in three ſquadrons, and ſeated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with ſcarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who ſtill repreſent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as uſual between the Colonna and Urſini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urſini are mentioned with praiſe; and the Colonna regretted the abſence of the youngeſt of their houſe, who had ſprained her ancle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and reſpectable citizen; and they deſcended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it ſhould ſeem, with a ſingle ſpear. Amidſt the crowd, our annaliſt has ſelected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the moſt conſpicuous knights. Several of the names are the moſt illuſtrious of Rome and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; Malateſta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corſi; the colours were adapted to their taſte and ſituation; the devices are expreſſive of hope or deſpair, and breathe the ſpirit of gallantry and arms. "I am "alone, like the youngeſt of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid ſtranger: "I live diſ- "conſolate," a weeping widower: "I burn

" under the aſhes," a diſcreet lover: " I adore CHAP.
" Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declara- LXXI.
tion of a modern paſſion: " My faith is as pure,"
the motto of a white livery: " Who is ſtronger
" than myſelf?" of a lion's hide: " If I am
" drowned in blood, what a pleaſant death,"
the wiſh of ferocious courage. The pride or
prudence of the Urſini reſtrained them from the
field, which was occupied by three of their he-
reditary rivals, whoſe inſcriptions denoted the
lofty greatneſs of the Colonna name: " Though
" ſad, I am ſtrong:" " Strong as I am great:"
" If I fall," addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators,
" you fall with me:" — intimating (ſays the
contemporary writer) that while the other fami-
lies were the ſubjects of the Vatican, they alone
were the ſupporters of the Capitol. The combats
of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody.
Every champion ſucceſſively encountered a wild
bull; and the victory may be aſcribed to the
quadrupedes, ſince no more than eleven were
left on the field, with the loſs of nine wounded
and eighteen killed on the ſide of their adverſa-
ries. Some of the nobleſt families might mourn,
but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of
St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afford-
ed a ſecond holiday to the people. Doubtleſs it
was not in ſuch conflicts that the blood of the
Romans ſhould have been ſhed; yet in blaming
their raſhneſs, we are compelled to applaud their
gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who diſplay
their magnificence, and riſk their lives, under

CHAP. LXXI.

the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous ſympathy than the thouſands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the ſcene of ſlaughter [59].

Injuries.

This uſe of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a ſingular, feſtival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without reſtraint or remorſe. In the fourteenth century, a ſcandalous act of concord ſecured to both factions the privilege of extracting ſtones from the free and common quarry of the Coliſeum [60]; and Poggius laments that the greater part of theſe ſtones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans [61]. To check this abuſe, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vaſt and gloomy receſs, Eugenius the fourth ſurrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent [62]. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themſelves reſpected the nobleſt monument of their fathers, they might have juſtified the reſolve that it ſhould never be degraded to private property. The inſide was damaged; but in the middle of the ſixteenth century, an æra of taſte and learning, the exterior circumference of one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve feet was ſtill entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourſcore arches, which roſe to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the preſent ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who

views the Farneſe palace may curſe the ſacrilege and luxury of theſe upſtart princes [63]. A ſimilar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliſeum was placed under the ſafeguard of religion, by the moſt liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the fourteenth, who conſecrated a ſpot which perſecution and fable had ſtained with the blood of ſo many Chriſtian martyrs [64].

CHAP. LXXI. and conſecration of the Coliſeum.

When Petrarch firſt gratified his eyes with a view of thoſe monuments, whoſe ſcattered fragments ſo far ſurpaſs the moſt eloquent deſcriptions, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſupine indifference "[65] of the Romans themſelves "[66]; he was humbled rather than elated by the diſcovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a ſtranger of the Rhone was more converſant with theſe antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis [67]. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately diſplayed in the old ſurvey of the city which was compoſed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol " may provoke a ſmile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," ſays the anonymous writer, " is ſo named as being the head of the " world; where the conſuls and ſenators formerly " reſided for the government of the city and the " globe. The ſtrong and lofty walls were covered " with glaſs and gold, and crowned with a " roof of the richeſt and moſt curious carving.

Ignorance and barbariſm of the Romans.

CHAP. LXXI.

" Below the citadel ſtood a palace, of gold for " the greateſt part, decorated with precious " ſtones, and whoſe value might be eſteemed at " one third of the world itſelf. The ſtatues of " all the provinces were arranged in order, each " with a ſmall bell ſuſpended from its neck; " and ſuch was the contrivance of art magic ", " that if the province rebelled againſt Rome, the " ſtatue turned round to that quarter of the hea- " vens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capi- " tol reported the prodigy, and the ſenate was " admoniſhed of the impending danger." A ſecond example of leſs importance, though of equal abſurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horſes, led by two naked youths, which have ſince been tranſported from the baths of Conſtantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundleſs application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excuſed; but theſe Grecian ſculptors ſhould not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they ſhould not have been transformed into two philoſophers or magicians, whoſe nakedneſs was the ſymbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his moſt ſecret actions; and, after refuſing all pecuniary recompence, ſolicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themſelves [70]. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were inſenſible to the beauties of art; no more than five ſtatues were viſible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or deſign had buried under the ruins, the reſurrection was fortunately

delayed till a ſafer and more enlightened age [71]. The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by ſome labourers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by ſome viſits of curioſity, reſtored the unprofitable marble to its former grave [72]. The diſcovery of a ſtatue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occaſion of a law-ſuit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head ſhould be ſeparated from the body to ſatisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the ſentence would have been executed, if the interceſſion of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not reſcued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen [73].

CHAP. LXXI.

But the clouds of barbariſm were gradually diſpelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his ſucceſſors, reſtored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The improvements of Rome, ſince the fifteenth century, have not been the ſpontaneous produce of freedom and induſtry. The firſt and moſt natural root of a great city, is the labour and populouſneſs of the adjacent country, which ſupplies the materials of ſubſiſtence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and deſolate wilderneſs: the overgrown eſtates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeleſs vaſſals; and the ſcanty

Reſtoration and ornaments of the city, A. D. 1420. etc.

CHAP. LXXI.

harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the residence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brasil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants[74]; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more

decently employed by the popes themſelves in the pomp of the Catholic worſhip; but it is ſuperfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, ſince theſe leſſer ſtars are eclipſed by the ſun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the moſt glorious ſtructure that ever has been applied to the uſe of religion. The fame of Julius the ſecond, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the ſuperior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the ſame munificence which had been diſplayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Proſtrate obeliſks were raiſed from the ground, and erected in the moſt conſpicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæſars and conſuls, three were reſtored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long ſeries of old, or of new, arches, to diſcharge into marble baſins a flood of ſalubrious and refreſhing waters: and the ſpectator, impatient to aſcend the ſteps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which riſes between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the deſcription, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the ſtudent[75]: and the footſteps of heroes, the relics, not of ſuperſtition, but of empire, are devoutly viſited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once ſavage, countries of the North.

CHAP. LXXI.

Final conclusion.

Of theſe pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an hiſtory of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greateſt, perhaps, and moſt awful ſcene, in the hiſtory of mankind. The various cauſes and progreſſive effects are connected with many of the events moſt intereſting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæſars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the diſorders of military deſpotiſm; the riſe, eſtabliſhment, and ſects of Chriſtianity; the foundation of Conſtantinople; the diviſion of the monarchy; the invaſion and ſettlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the inſtitutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal ſovereignty of the popes; the reſtoration and decay of the Weſtern empire of Charlemagne; the cruſades of the Latins in the Eaſt; the conqueſts of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the ſtate and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The hiſtorian may applaud the importance and variety of his ſubject; but, while he is conſcious of his own imperfections, he muſt often accuſe the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I firſt conceived the idea of a work which has amuſed and exerciſed near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wiſhes, I finally deliver to the curioſity and candour of the public.

LAUSANNE,
June 27, 1787.

GENERAL INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A.

Aban, the Saracen, heroiſm of his widow, ix. 234.

Abbaſſides, elevation of the houſe of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, ix. 344.

Abdallah, the Saracen, his excurſion to plunder the fair of Abyla, ix. 241. His African expedition, 281.

Abdalmalek, caliph of the Saracens, refuſes tribute to the emperor of Conſtantinople, and eſtabliſhes a national mint, ix. 328.

Abdalrahman, the Saracen, eſtabliſhes his throne at Cordova in Spain, ix. 349. Splendour of his court, 352. His eſtimate of his happineſs, 354.

Abdelazir, the Saracen, his treaty with Theodemir the Gothic prince of Spain, ix. 307. His death, 310.

Abderame, his expedition to France, and victories there, ix. 338. His death, 343.

Abdol Motalleb, the grandfather of the prophet Mahomet, his hiſtory, ix. 115.

Abgarus, enquiry into the authenticity of his correſpondence with Jeſus Chriſt, ix. 6.

Abgarus, the laſt king of Edeſſa, ſent in chains to Rome, i. 276.

Ablavius, the confidential præfect under Conſtantine the Great, a conſpiracy formed againſt him on that emperor's death, iii. 99. Is put to death, 101.

Abu Ayub, his hiſtory, and the veneration paid to his memory by the Mahometans, ix. 326. xii. 55.

Abubeker, the friend of Mahomet, is one of his firſt converts, ix. 138. Flies from Mecca with him, 143. Succeeds Mahomet as caliph of the Saracens, 180. His character, 205.

Abu Caab commands the Andaluſian Moors who ſubdued the iſland of Crete, ix. 368.

INDEX.

Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, conſpires the death of Mahomet, ix. 143. Battles of Beder and Ohud, 152. Beſieges Medina without ſucceſs, 155. Surrenders Mecca to Mahomet, and receives him as a prophet, 160.
Abu Taher, the Carmathian, pillages Mecca, ix. 386.
Abulfeda, his account of the ſplendour of the caliph Moctader, ix. 352.
Abulpharagius, primate of the Eaſtern Jacobites, ſome account of, viii. 290. His encomium on wiſdom and learning, ix. 356.
Abundantius, general of the Eaſt, and patron of the eunuch Eutropius, is diſgraced and exiled by him, v. 310.
Abyla, the fair of, plundered by the Saracens, ix. 242.
Abyſſinia, the inhabitants of, deſcribed, vii. 297. Their alliance with the emperor Juſtinian, 298. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of, viii. 302.
Acacius, biſhop of Amida, an uncommon inſtance of epiſcopal benevolence, v. 348.
Achaia, its extent, i. 31.
Acre, the memorable ſiege of, by the cruſaders, x. 356. Final loſs of, 376.
Actions, Inſtitutes of Juſtinian reſpecting, viii. 64.
Actium, a review of Roman affairs after the battle of, i. 78.
Adauctus, the only martyr of diſtinction during the perſecution under Diocletian, ii. 393.
Adolphus, the brother of Alaric, brings him a reinforcement of troops, v. 243. Is made count of the domeſtics to the new emperor Attalus, 250. Succeeds his brother as king of the Goths, and concludes a peace with Honorius, 270.
Adoption, the two kinds of, under the Greek empire, x. 279.
Adoration of the Roman emperor, cuſtom of, and derivation of the term, x. 26.
Adorno, the Genoeſe governor of Phocæa, conveys Amurath II. from Aſia to Europe, xi. 294.
Adrian I. pope, his alliance with Charlemagne againſt the Lombards, ix. 32. His reception of Charlemagne at Rome

INDEX.

Rome 36. Aſſerts the fictitious donation of Conſtantine the Great, 40.
Adultery, diſtinctions of, and how puniſhed by Auguſtus, viii. 77. By the Chriſtian emperors, 79.
Ælia Capitolina founded on mount Sion by Hadrian, ii. 230.
Ælius Pætus, his *Tripartite*, the oldeſt work of Roman juriſprudence, viii. 18.
Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mæſia, routs the barbarous invaders of the empire, and is declared emperor by his troops, i. 335.
Æneas of Gaza, his atteſtation of the miraculous gift of ſpeech to the Catholic confeſſors of Tipaſa, whoſe tongues had been cut out, vi. 234.
Æneas Sylvius, his account of the impracticability of an European cruſade againſt the Turks, xii. 62. His epigram on the deſtruction of ancient buildings in Rome, 192.
Æra of the world, remarkable epochas in, pointed out vii. 128.
—— Gelalæan, of the Turks, when ſettled, x. 225.
Aerial tribute, in the Eaſtern empire, what, vii. 87.
Ætius, ſurnamed the Atheiſt, his character and adventures, iii. 266. 278. 297.
——, The Roman general under Valentinian III. his character, vi. 7. His treacherous ſcheme to ruin count Boniface, 9. Is forced to retire into Pannonia, 21. His invitation of the Huns into the empire, 31. Seizes the adminiſtration of the Weſtern empire, 73. His character as given by Renatus a cotemporary hiſtorian, 74. Employs the Huns and Alani in the defence of Gaul, 76. Concludes a peace with Theodoric, 80. Raiſes the ſiege of Orleans, 88. Battle of Chalons, 94. His prudence on the invaſion of Italy by Attila, 105. Is murdered by Valentinian, 112.
Africa, its ſituation and revolutions, i. 33. Great revenue raiſed from, by the Romans, 212. Progreſs of Chriſtianity there, ii. 302. Is diſtracted with religious diſcord

in the time of Conſtantine the Great, iii. 243. Character and revolt of the Circumcellions, 316. Oppreſſions of, under the government of count Romanus, iv. 241. General ſtate of Africa, 248. Revolt of count Boniface there, vi. 9. Arrival of Genſeric king of the Vandals, 12. Perſecution of the Donatiſts, 13. Devaſtation of, by the Vandals, 16. Carthage ſurpriſed by Genſeric, 22. Perſecution of the Catholics, 223. Expedition of Beliſarius to, vii. 140. Is recovered by the Romans, 158. The government of, ſettled by Juſtinian, 159. Revolt of the troops there, under Stoza, 302. Devaſtation of the war, 308. Invaſion of, by the Saracens, ix. 280. Conqueſt of, by Akbah, 287. Decline and extinction of Chriſtianity there, 317. Revolt and independence of the Saracens there, ix. 388.

Aglabites, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 388.

Aglae, a Roman lady, patroniſes St. Boniface, ii. 395.

Agricola, review of his conduct in Britain, i. 5.

Agriculture, great improvement of, in the weſtern countries of the Roman empire, i. 68. State of, in the Eaſtern empire, under Juſtinian, vii. 73.

Ajax, the ſepulchre of, how diſtinguiſhed, iii. 9.

Aiznadin, battle of, between the Saracens and the Greeks, ix. 229.

Akbah, the Saracen, his exploits in Africa, ix. 287.

Alani, occaſion of theſe people invading Aſia, ii. 57. Conqueſt of, by the Huns, iv. 300. Join the Goths who had emigrated into Thrace, 325. See *Goths*, and *Vandals*.

Alaric, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodoſius the Great, v. 69. Becomes the leader of the Gothic revolt, and ravages Greece, 148. Eſcapes from Stilicho, 154. Is appointed maſter general of the Eaſtern Illyricum, 155. His invaſion of Italy, 158. Is defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 164. Is driven out of Italy, 168. Is, by treaty with Honorius, declared maſter-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum,

194. His pleas and motives for marching to Rome, 210. Encamps under the walls of that city, 212. Accepts a ranſom, and raiſes the ſiege, 240. His negociations with the emperor Honorius, 243. His ſecond ſiege of Rome, 249. Places Attalus on the Imperial throne, 250. Degrades him, 253. Seizes the city of Rome 255. His ſack of Rome compared with that by the emperor Charles V. 264. Retires from Rome, and ravages Italy, 266. His death and burial, 269.

Alaric II. king of the Goths, his overthrow by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 263.

Alberic, the ſon of Marozia, his revolt, and government of Rome, ix. 72.

Albigeois of France, perſecution of, x. 79.

Alboin, king of the Lombards, his hiſtory, viii. 93. His alliance with the Avars againſt the Gepidæ, 95. Reduces the Gepidæ, 96. He undertakes the conqueſt of Italy, 97. Overruns what is now called Lombardy, 101. Aſſumes the regal title there, 102. Takes Pavia, and makes it his capital city, 103. Is murdered at the inſtigation of his queen Roſamond, *ibid.*

Alchemy, the books of, in Egypt, deſtroyed by Diocletian, ii. 113.

Aleppo, ſiege and capture of, by the Saracens, ix. 253. Is recovered by the Greeks, 397. Is taken and ſacked by Tamerlane, xi. 267.

Alexander III. pope, eſtabliſhes the papal election in the college of cardinals, xii. 102.

Alexander archbiſhop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius for his hereſy, ii. 258.

Alexander Severus, is declared Cæſar by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 196. Is raiſed to the throne, 198. Examination into his pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 278. Shewed a regard for the Chriſtian religion, ii. 369.

Alexandria, a general maſſacre there, by order of the emperor Caracalla, i. 180. The city deſcribed, 372. Is ruined by ridiculous inteſtine commotions, 373. By famine and peſtilence, 347. Is beſieged and taken by

INDEX.

Diocletian, 374. The Chriſtian theology reduced to a ſyſtematical form in the ſchool of, ii. 299. Number of martyrs who ſuffered there in the perſecution by Decius, 351. The theological ſyſtem of Plato taught in the ſchool of, and received by the Jews there, iii. 249. Queſtions concerning the nature of the trinity, agitated in the philoſophical and Chriſtian ſchools of, 252. 257. Hiſtory of the archbiſhop St. Athanaſius, 280. Outrages attending his expulſion and the eſtabliſhment of his ſucceſſor, George of Cappadocia, 300. The city diſtracted by pious factions, 307. Diſgraceful life and tragical death of George of Cappadocia, iv. 99. Reſtoration of Athanaſius, 103. Athanaſius baniſhed by Julian, 105. Suffers greatly by an earthquake, 274. Hiſtory of the temple of Serapis there, v. 91. This temple, and the famous library, deſtroyed by biſhop Theophilus, 93. Is taken by Amrou the Saracen, ix. 270. The famous library deſtroyed, 273.

Alexius Angelus, his uſurpation of the Greek empire, and character, xi. 15. Flies before the cruſaders, 37.

Alexius I. *Commenus*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 394. New titles of dignity invented by him, x. 23. Battle of Durazzo, 166. Solicits the aid of the emperor Henry III. 170. Solicits the aid of the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, 245. His ſuſpicious policy on the arrival of the cruſaders, 276. Exacts homage from them 278. Profits by the ſucceſs of the cruſaders, 322.

Alexius II. *Commenus*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 404.

Alexius Strategopulus, the Greek general, retakes Conſtantinople from the Latins, xi. 100.

Alexius, the ſon of Iſaac Angelus, his eſcape from his uncle, who had depoſed his father, xi. 16. His treaty with the cruſaders for his reſtoration, 28. Reſtoration of his father, 42. His death, 49.

Alfred ſends an embaſſy to the ſhrine of St. Thomas in India, viii. 285.

Algebra, by whom invented, ix. 360.

Ali, joins Mahomet in his prophetical miſſion, ix. 139.

His heroiſm, 155. 157. His character, 179. Is choſen caliph of the Saracens, 182. Devotion paid at his tomb, 189. His poſterity, 190.

Aligern, defends Cumæ, for his brother Teias, king of the Goths, vii. 341. Is reduced, 343.

Allectus murders Caraſius, and uſurps his ſtation, ii. 105.

Allemanni, the origin and warlike ſpirit of, i. 342. Are driven out of Italy by the ſenate and people, 343. Invade the empire under Aurelian, ii. 19. Are totally routed, 22. Gaul delivered from their depredations by Conſtantius Chlorus, 108. Invade and eſtabliſh themſelves in Gaul, iii. 169. Are defeated at Strasburgh by Julian, 176. Are reduced by Julian in his expeditions beyond the Rhine, 181. Invade Gaul under the emperor Valentinian, iv. 222. Are reduced by Jovinus, 224. And chaſtiſed by Valentinian, 227. Are ſubdued by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 251.

Alp Arslan, ſultan of the Turks, his reign, x. 212.

Alypius, governor of Britain, is commiſſioned by the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, iv. 84.

Amala, king of the Goths, his high credit among them, i. 324.

Amalaſontha, queen of Italy, her hiſtory and character, vii. 175. Her death, 179.

Amalphi, deſcription of the city, and its commerce, x. 154.

Amazons, improbability of any ſociety of, ii. 39.

Ambition, reflections on the violence, and various operations of that paſſion, viii. 421.

Ambroſe, St. compoſed a treatiſe on the trinity, for the uſe of the emperor Gratian, v. 3. His birth, and promotion to the archbiſhopric of Milan, 31. Oppoſes the Arian worſhip of the empreſs Juſtina, 33. Refuſes obedience to the Imperial power, 38. Controls the emperor Theodoſius, 59. Impoſes penance on Theodoſius for his cruel treatment of Theſſalonica, 61. Employed his influence over Gratian and Theodoſius, to inſpire them with maxims of perſecution, 78. Oppoſes Symmachus, the advocate for the old Pagan religion, 84. Comforts

the citizens of Florence with a dream, when beſieged by Radagaiſus, 180.

Amida, ſiege of, by Sapor king of Perſia, iii. 162. Receives the fugitive inhabitants of Niſibis, iv. 177. Is beſieged and taken by Cabades king of Perſia, vii. 114.

Amir, prince of Ionia, his character, and paſſage into Europe, xi. 231.

Ammianus the hiſtorian, his religious character of the emperor Conſtantius, iii. 277. His remark on the enmity of Chriſtians toward each other, 320. His account of the fiery obſtructions to reſtoring the temple of Jeruſalem, iv. 86. His account of the hoſtile conteſt of Damaſus and Urſinus for the biſhopric of Rome, 219. Teſtimony in favour of his hiſtorical merit, 348. His character of the nobles of Rome, v. 220.

Ammonius, the mathematician, his meaſurement of the circuit of Rome, v. 235.

Ammonius, the monk of Alexandria, his martyrdom viii. 233.

Amorium, ſiege and deſtruction of, by the caliph Motaſſem. ix. 378.

Amphilochus, biſhop of Iconium, gains the favour of the emperor Theodoſius by an orthodox *bon mot*, v. 13.

Amphitheatre at Rome, a deſcription of, ii. 87. xii. 196.

Amrou, his birth and character, ix. 262. His invaſion and conqueſt of Egypt, 264. His adminiſtration there, 277. His deſcription of the country, 278.

Amurath I. ſultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 236.

Amurath II. ſultan, his reign and character xi. 375.

Anachorets, in monkiſh hiſtory, deſcribed, vi. 210.

Anacletus, pope, his Jewiſh extraction, xii. 114.

Anaſtaſius I. marries the empreſs Ariadne, vii. 6. His war with Theodoric, the Oſtrogoth king of Italy, 19. His œconomy celebrated, 81. His long wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 107. Is humbled by the Catholic clergy, viii. 261.

Anaſtaſius II. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 333. His preparations of defence againſt the Saracens, ix. 329.

INDEX.

Anaſtaſius, St. his brief hiſtory and martyrdom, viii. 186.
Anatho, the city of, on the banks of the Euphrates, deſcribed, iv. 130.
Andaluſia, derivation of the name of that province, ix. 296.
Andronicus, preſident of Lybia, excommunicated by Syneſius biſhop of Ptolemais, iii. 235.
Andronicus Comnenus, his character, and firſt adventures, viii. 405. Seizes the empire of Conſtantinople, 416. His unhappy fate, 419.
Andronicus the Elder, emperor of Conſtantinople, his ſuperſtition, xi. 163. His war with his grandſon and abdication, 169.
Andronicus the Younger, emperor of Conſtantinople, his licentious character, xi. 167. His civil war againſt his grandfather, 169. His reign, 173. Is vanquiſhed and wounded by ſultan Orchan, 229. His private application to pope Benedict XII. of Rome, 306.
Angora, battle of, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, xi. 271.
Anianus, biſhop of Orleans, his pious anxiety for the relief of that city when beſieged by Attila the Hun, vi. 88.
Anician family at Rome, brief hiſtory of, v. 215.
Anne Comnena, character of her hiſtory of her father, Alexius I. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 394. Her conſpiracy againſt her brother John, 397.
Anthemius, emperor of the Weſt, his deſcent, and inveſtiture by Leo the Great, vi. 157. His election confirmed at Rome, 158. Is killed in the ſack of Rome by Ricimer, 177.
Anthemius, præfect of the Eaſt, character of his adminiſtration, in the minority of the emperor Theodoſius the younger, v. 337.
Anthemius the architect, inſtances of his great knowledge in mechanics, vii. 94. Forms the deſign of the church of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople, 97.
Anthony, St. father of the Egyptian monks, his hiſtory, vi. 195.

INDEX.

Anthropomorphites, among the early Chriſtians, perſonifiers of the Deity, viii. 223.
Antioch, taken and deſtroyed by Sapor king of Perſia, i. 360. Flouriſhing ſtate of the Chriſtian church there, in the reign of Theodoſius, ii. 298. Hiſtory of the body of St. Babylas, biſhop of, iv. 96. The cathedral of, ſhut up, and its wealth confiſcated, by the emperor Julian, 98. Licentious manners of the citizens, 113. Popular diſcontents during the reſidence of Julian there, 115. Sedition there, againſt the emperor Theodoſius, v. 51. The city pardoned, 55. Is taken, and ruined, by Choſroes king of Perſia, vii. 270. Great deſtruction there by an earthquake, 364. Is again ſeized by Choſroes II. viii. 183. Is reduced by the Saracens and ranſomed, ix. 255. Is recovered by the Greeks, 396. beſieged and taken by the firſt cruſaders, x. 292.
Antonina, the wife of Beliſarius, her character, vii. 137. Examines and convicts pope Sylverius of treachery, 204. Her activity during the ſiege of Rome, 207. Her ſecret hiſtory, 224. Founds a convent for her retreat, 357.
Antoninus, a Roman refugee at the court of Sapor king of Perſia, ſtimulates him to an invaſion of the Roman provinces, iii. 160.
Antoninus Pius, his character, and that of Hadrian compared, i. 10. Is adopted by Hadrian, 100.
Antoninus Marcus, his defenſive wars, i. 11. Is adopted by Pius at the inſtance of Hadrian, 101. His character, 103. His war againſt the united Germans, 313. Suſpicious ſtory of his edict in favour of the Chriſtians, ii. 365.
Aper, *Arius*, prætorian præfect, and father-in-law to the emperor Numerian, is killed by Diocletian as the preſumptive murderer of that prince, ii. 91.
Apharban, the Perſian, his embaſſy from Narſes king of Perſia, to the emperor Galerius, ii. 123.
Apocalypſe, why now admitted into the canon of the Scriptures, ii. 250.
Apocaucus, admiral of Conſtantinople, his confederacy againſt John Cantacuzene, xi. 176. His death, 181.

INDEX.

Apollinaris, biſhop of Laodicea, his hypotheſis of the divine incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, viii. 225.

Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria, butchers his flock in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation viii. 279.

Apollonius of Tyana, his doubtful character, ii. 411.

Apotheoſis of the Roman emperors, how this cuſtom was introduced, i. 91.

Apſimar dethrones Leontius emperor of Conſtantinople, and uſurps his place, viii. 327.

Apulia, is conquered by the Normans, x. 140. Is confirmed to them by papal grant, 146.

Aquileia, beſieged by the emperor Maximin, i. 245. Is taken and deſtroyed by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 100.

Aquitain, is ſettled by the Goths, under their king Wallia, v. 293. Is conquered by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 267.

Arabia, its ſituation, ſoil, and climate, ix. 89. Its diviſion into the *Sandy*, the *Stony*, and the *Happy*, 91. The paſtoral Arabs, *ib.* Their horſes and camels, 92. Cities of, 94. Manners and cuſtoms of the Arabs, 96. Their language, 104. Their benevolence, 106. Hiſtory and deſcription of the Caaba of Mecca, 109. Religions, 112. Life and doctrine of Mahomet, 115. Conqueſt of, by Mahomet, 161. Character of the caliphs, 205. Rapid conqueſts of, 208. Limits of their conqueſts, 323. Three caliphs eſtabliſhed, 350. Introduction of learning among the Arabians, 355. Their progreſs in the ſciences, 358. Their literary deficiencies, 362. Decline and fall of the caliphs, 387.

Arbetio, a veteran under Conſtantine the Great, leaves his retirement to oppoſe the uſurper Procopius. iv. 200.

Arbogaſtes, the Frank, his military promotion under Theodoſius in Gaul, and conſpiracy againſt Valentinian the younger, v. 66. Is defeated and killed by Theodoſius, 72.

Arcadius, ſon of the emperor Theodoſius, ſucceeds to the empire of the Eaſt, v. 114. His magnificence, 305. Extent of his dominions, 306. Adminiſtration of his

favourite eunuch Eutropius, *ib.* His cruel law againſt treaſon, 313. Signs the condemnation of Eutropius, 318. His interview with the revolters Tribigild and Gainas, 321. His death, and ſuppoſed teſtament, 336.

Architecture, Roman, the general magnificence of, indicated by the exiſting ruins, i. 57.

Ardaburius, his expedition to Italy, to reduce the uſurper John, vi. 4.

Argonauts, the object of their expedition to Colchos, vii. 279.

Ariadne, daughter of the emperor Leo, and wife of Zeno, her character, and marriage afterward with Anaſtaſius, vii. 5.

Arians, perſecute the Catholics in Africa, vi. 223.

Arii, a tribe of the Lygians, their terrific mode of waging war, ii. 65.

Arinthæus, is appointed general of the horſe by the emperor Julian on his Perſian expedition, iv. 128. Diſtinguiſhes himſelf againſt the uſurper Procopius, 200.

Arioviſtus ſeizes two-thirds of the lands of the Sequani in Gaul, for himſelf and his German followers, vi. 277.

Ariſtobulus, principal miniſter of the houſe of Carus, is received into confidence by the emperor Diocletian, ii. 95.

Ariſtotle, his logic better adapted to the detection of error, than for the diſcovery of truth, ix. 359.

Arius, is excommunicated for heretical notions concerning the Trinity, iii. 258. Strength of his party, *ib.* His opinions examined in the council of Nice, 261. Account of Arian ſects, 266. Council of Rimini, 270. His baniſhment and recal, 273. His ſuſpicious death, 274.

Armenia, is ſeized by Sapor king of Perſia, i. 357. Tiridates reſtored, ii. 115. He is again expelled by the Perſians, 118. Is reſigned to Tiridates by treaty between the Romans and Perſians, 127. Is rendered tributary to Perſia, on the death of Tiridates, iii. 105. Character of Arſaces Tiranus king of, and his conduct toward the emperor Julian, iv. 124. Is reduced by

Sapor to a Perſian province, 251. Its diſtractions and diviſion between the Perſians and the Romans, v. 349. Hiſtory of Chriſtianity there, viii. 294.

Armies of the Eaſtern empire, ſtate of, under the emperor Maurice, viii. 168.

Armorica, the provinces of, form a free government independent on the Romans, v. 297. Submits to Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 256. Settlement of Britons in, 308.

Armour, defenſive, is laid aſide by the Romans, and adopted by the Barbarians, v. 76.

Arnold of Breſcia, his hereſy, and hiſtory, xii. 78.

Arragon, derivation of the name of that province, i. 25.

Arrian, his viſit to, and deſcription of, Colchos, vii. 283.

Arſaces Tiranus, king of Armenia, his character, and diſaffection to the emperor Julian, iv. 125. Withdraws his troops treacherouſly from the Roman ſervice, 148. His diſaſtrous end, 250.

Arſenius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, excommunicates the emperor Michael Palæologus, xi. 137. Faction of the Arſenites, 138.

Artaban, king of Parthia, is defeated and ſlain by Artaxerxes king of Perſia, i. 262.

Artaban, his conſpiracy againſt the emperor Juſtinian, vii. 328. Is intruſted with the conduct of the armament ſent to Italy, 331.

Artaſires, king of Armenia, is depoſed by the Perſians at the inſtigation of his own ſubjects, v. 351.

Artavaſdes, his revolt againſt the Greek emperor Conſtantine V. at Conſtantinople, ix. 15.

Artaxerxes, reſtores the Perſian monarchy, i. 263. Prohibits every worſhip but that of Zoroaſter, 270. His war with the Romans, 277. His character and maxims, 280.

Artemius, duke of Egypt under Conſtantius, is condemned to death under Julian, for cruelty and corruption, iv. 40.

INDEX.

Arthur, king of the Britons, his hiſtory obſcured by monkiſh fictions, vi. 308.
Arvandus, prætorian præfect of Gaul, his trial and condemnation by the Roman ſenate, vi. 169.
Aſcalon, battle of, between Godfrey king of Jeruſalem, and the ſultan of Egypt, x. 312.
Aſcetics, in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, account of, vi. 194.
Aſclepiodatus reduces and kills the Britiſh uſurper Allectus, ii. 106.
Aſia, ſummary view of the revolutions in that quarter of the world, i. 261.
Aſia Minor deſcribed, i. 31. Amount of its tribute to Rome, 212. Is conquered by the Turks, x. 227.
Aſiarch, the nature of this office among the ancient Pagans, ii. 452.
Aſpar is commiſſioned by Theodoſius the younger to conduct Valentinian III, to Italy, vi. 4. Places his ſteward Leo on the throne of the Eaſtern empire, 156. He and his ſons murdered by Leo, vii. 4.
Aſſaſſins, the principality of, deſtroyed by the Moguls, xi. 212.
Aſſemblies of the people aboliſhed under the Roman emperors, i. 88. The nature of, among the ancient Germans, 298.
Aſſyria, the province of, deſcribed, iv. 131. Is invaded by the emperor Julian, 133. His retreat, 155.
Aſtarte, her image brought from Carthage to Rome, as a ſpouſe for Elagabalus, i. 193.
Aſtolphus, king of the Lombards, takes the city of Ravenna, and attacks Rome, ix. 29. Is repelled by Pepin king of France, 30.
Aſtrology, why cultivated by the Arabian aſtronomers, ix. 360.
Athalaric, the ſon of Amalaſontha queen of Italy, his education and character, vii. 177.
Athanaric the Gothic chief, his war againſt the emperor Valens, iv. 262. His alliance with Theodoſius, 353. his death and funeral, 354.

INDEX.

Athanaſius, St. confeſſes his underſtanding bewildered by meditating on the divinity of the Logos, iii. 253. General view of his opinions, 263. Is baniſhed, 274. His character and adventures, 280. iv. 103. 183. 213. Was not the author of the famous creed under his name, vi. 232.

Athanaſius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, his conteſts with the Greek emperor Andronicus the Elder, xi. 164.

Athenais, daughter of the philoſopher Leontius. See *Eudocia*.

Athens, the libraries in that city, why ſaid to have been ſpared by the Goths, i. 357. Naval ſtrength of the republic of, during its proſperity, ii. 212.

Athens is laid under contribution by Alaric the Goth, v. 150. Review of the philoſophical hiſtory of, vii. 118. The ſchools of, ſilenced by the emperor Juſtinian, 123. Revolutions of, after the cruſades, and its preſent ſtate, xi. 162.

Athos, mount, beatific viſions of the monks of, xi. 188.

Atlantic Ocean, derivation of its name, i. 34.

Attacotti, a Caledonian tribe of cannibals, account of, iv. 238.

Attalus, præfect of Rome, is choſen emperor by the ſenate, under the influence of Alaric, v. 250. Is publicly degraded, 254. His future fortune, 284.

Attalus, a noble youth of Auvergne, his adventures, vi. 288.

Attila, the Hun, vi. 32. Deſcription of his perſon and character, 33. His conqueſts, 36. His treatment of his captives, 44. Impoſes terms of peace on Theodoſius the younger, 49. Oppreſſes Theodoſius by his ambaſſadors, 53. Deſcription of his royal reſidence, 59. His reception of the ambaſſadors of Theodoſius, 62. His behaviour on diſcovering the ſcheme of Theodoſius to get him aſſaſſinated, 68. His haughty meſſages to the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt, 73. His invaſion of Gaul, 86. His oration to his troops on the approach of Ætius and Theodoric, 93. Battle of Chalons, 94.

His invaſion of Italy, 100. His retreat purchaſed by Valentinian, 107. His death, 108.

Atys and *Cybele*, the fable of, allegorized by the pen of Julian, iv. 57.

Avars, are diſcomfited by the Turks, vii. 251. Their embaſſy to the emperor Juſtinian, 252. Their conqueſts in Poland and Germany, 253. Their embaſſy to Juſtin II. viii. 19. They join the Lombards againſt the Gepidæ, 95. Pride, policy, and power, of their chagan Baian, 160. Their conqueſts, 165. Inveſt Conſtantinople, 202.

Averroes, his religious infidelity, how far juſtifiable, ix. 363.

Averſa, a town near Naples, built as a ſettlement for the Normans, x. 137.

Augurs, Roman, their number and peculiar office, v. 79.

Auguſtin, his account of the miracles wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 108. Celebrates the piety of the Goths in the ſacking of Rome, 257. Approves the perſecution of the Donatiſts of Africa, vi. 14. His death, character, and writings, 18. Hiſtory of his relics, vii. 157.

Auguſtulus, ſon of the patrician Oreſtes, is choſen emperor of the Weſt, vi. 181. Is depoſed by Odoacer, 182. His baniſhment to the Lucullan villa in Campania, 186.

Auguſtus, emperor, his moderate exerciſe of power, i. 2. Is imitated by his ſucceſſors, 3. His naval regulations, 23. His diviſion of Gaul, 25. His ſituation after the battle of Actium, 78. He reforms the ſenate, 79. Procures a ſenatorial grant of the Imperial dignity, 81. Diviſion of the provinces between him and the ſenate, 84. Is allowed his military command and guards in the city of Rome, 85. Obtains the conſular and tribunitian offices for life, 86. His character and policy, 93. Adopts Tiberius, 97. Formed an accurate regiſter of the revenues and expences of the empire, 211. Taxes

inſtituted by him, 214. His naval eſtabliſhment at, Ravenna, v. 172.

Auguſtus and *Cæſar*, thoſe titles explained and diſcriminated, i. 92.

Avienus, his character and embaſſy from Valentinian III. to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 106.

Avignon, the holy ſee how transferred from Rome to that city, xii. 107. Return of pope Urban V. to Rome, 154.

Avitus, his embaſſy from Ætius to Theodoric king of the Viſigoths, vi. 90. Aſſumes the empire, 128. His depoſition and death, 134.

Aurelian, emperor, his birth and ſervices, ii. 14. His expedition againſt Palmyra, 32. His triumph, 39. His cruelty, and death, 45.

Aurengzebe, account of his immenſe camp, i. 274.

Aureolus is inveſted with the purple on the Upper Danube, ii. 2.

Auſonius, the tutor of the emperor Gratian, his promotions, v. 3.

Autharis, king of the Lombards in Italy, his wars with the Franks, viii. 117. His adventurous gallantry, 125.

Autun, the city of, ſtormed and plundered by the legions in Gaul, ii. 27.

Auvergne, province and city of, in Gaul, revolutions of, vi. 285.

Auxiliaries, Barbarian, fatal conſequences of their admiſſion into the Roman armies, iii. 49.

Axuch, a Turkiſh ſlave, his generous friendſhip to the princeſs Anne Comnena, viii. 398. And to Manuel Comnenus, 400.

Azimuntium, the citizens of, defend their privileges againſt Peter, brother of the Eaſtern emperor Maurice, viii. 167.

Azimus, remarkable ſpirit ſhewn by the citizens of, againſt Attila and his Huns, vi. 51.

INDEX.

B.

Baalbec, defcription of the ruins of, ix. 244.
Babylas, St. biſhop of Antioch, his poſthumous hiſtory, iv. 96.
Bagaudæ, in Gaul, revolt of, its occaſion, and ſuppreſſion by Maximian, ii. 100.
Bagdad becomes the royal reſidence of the Abbaſſides, ix. 351. Derivation of the name, ib. The fallen ſtate of the caliphs of, 391. The city of, ſtormed and ſacked by the Moguls xi. 213.
Bahram, the Perſian general, his character and exploits, viii. 149, Is provoked to rebellion, 151. Dethrones Choſroes, 155. His uſurpation and death, 158.
Baian, chagan of the Avars, his pride, policy, and power, viii. 160. His perfidious ſeizure of Sirmium and Singidunum, 164. His conqueſts, 165. His treacherous attempt to ſeize the emperor Heraclius, 191. Inveſts Conſtantinople in conjunction with the Perſians 202. Retires, 204.
Bajazet, I. ſultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 239. His correſpondence with Tamerlane, 265. Is defeated and captured by Tamerlane, 273. Inquiry into the ſtory of the iron cage, 276. His ſons, 289.
Balbinus, elected joint emperor with Maximus, by the ſenate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 239.
Baldwin, count of Flanders, engages in the fourth cruſade, xi. 19. Is choſen emperor of Conſtantinople, 66. Is taken priſoner by Calo-John, king of the Bulgarians, 78. His death, 80.
Baldwin II. emperor of Conſtantinople xi. 90. His diſtreſſes and expedients, 92. His expulſion from that city, 102.
Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, accompanies him on the firſt cruſade, x. 264. Founds the principality of Edeſſa, 291.

INDEX.

Baltic Sea, progreſſive ſubſidence of the water, of i. 285. How the Romans acquired a knowledge of the naval powers of, iv. 231.

Baptiſm, theory and practice of among the primitive Chriſtians, iii. 216.

Barbary, the name of that country, whence derived, ix. 293. The Moors of, converted to the Mahometan faith, 295.

Barbatio, general of infantry in Gaul under Julian, his miſconduct, iii. 175.

Barchochebas, his rebellion againſt the emperor Hadrian, ii. 318.

Bards, Celtic, their power of exciting a martial enthuſiaſm in the people, i. 307.

Bards, Britiſh, their peculiar office and duties, vi. 315.

Bardas, Cæſar, one of the reſtorers of learning, x. 53.

Bari is taken from the Saracens by the joint efforts of the Latin and Greek empires, x. 129.

Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, his diſpute with the Greek theologians about the light of mount Thabor, xi. 189. His embaſſy to Rome, from Andronicus the younger, 306. His literary character, 351.

Baſil I. the Macedonian, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 358. Reduces the Paulicians, x. 73.

Baſil, II. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 377. His great wealth, x. 17. His inhuman treatment of the Bulgarians, 73.

Baſil, archbiſhop of Cæſarea, no evidence of his having been perſecuted by the emperor Valens, iv. 215. Inſults his friend Gregory Nazianzen, under the appearance of promotion, v. 16. The father of the monks of Pontus, vi. 197.

Baſiliſcus, brother of the empreſs Verina, is entruſted with the command of the armament ſent againſt the Vandals in Africa, vi. 164. His fleet deſtroyed by Genſeric, 166. His promotion to the empire, and death, vii. 5.

INDEX.

Baſſianus, high prieſt of the ſun, his parentage, i. 188. Is proclaimed emperor at Emeſa, *ibid.* See *Elagabalus.*

Baſſianus, brother-in-law to Conſtantine, revolts againſt him, ii. 201.

Baſſora, its foundation and ſituation, ix. 213.

Baths, public, of Rome deſcribed, v. 232.

Batnæ, reception of the emperor Julian there, iv. 122.

Beaſts, wild, the variety of, introduced in the circus, for the public games at Rome, ii. 85.

Beauſobre, M. de, character of his *Hiſtoire Critique du Manichéiſme* viii. 217.

Beder, battle of, between Mahomet and the Koreiſh of Mecca, ix. 152.

Bedowees, of Arabia, their mode of life, ix. 91.

Bees, remarks on the ſtructure of their combs and cells, ix. 356.

Beliſarius, his birth and military promotion, vii. 134. Is appointed by Juſtinian to conduct the African war, 138. Embarkation of his troops, 140. Lands in Africa, 144. Defeats Gelimer, 147. Is received into Carthage, 149. Second defeat of Gelimer, 155. Reduction of Africa, 158. Surrender of Gelimer, 163. His triumphant return to Conſtantinople, 165. Is declared ſole conſul, 166. He menaces the Oſtrogoths of Italy, 173. He ſeizes Sicily, 180. Invades Italy, 185. Takes Naples, 187. He enters Rome, 191. He is beſieged in Rome by the Goths, 192. The ſiege raiſed, 209. Cauſes Conſtantine, one of his generals, to be killed, 212. Siege of Ravenna, 217. Takes Ravenna by ſtratagem, 221. Returns to Conſtantinople, 222. His character and behaviour, 223. Scandalous life of his wife Antonina, 224. His diſgrace and ſubmiſſion, 231. Is ſent into the Eaſt to oppoſe Choſroes king of Perſia, 273. His politic reception of the Perſian ambaſſadors, 275. His ſecond campaign in Italy, 314. His ineffectual attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Rome, 319. Diſſuades Totila from deſtroying Rome, 323. Recovers the city

324. His final recal from Italy, 326. Reſcues Conſtantinople from the Bulgarians, 353. His diſgrace and death, 355.

Benefice, in feudal language, explained, vi. 282.

Benevento, battle of, between Charles of Anjou, and Mainfroy the Sicilian uſurper, xi. 147.

Beneventum, anecdotes, relating to the ſiege of, x. 133.

Benjamin of Tudela, his account of the riches of Conſtantinople, x. 16.

Beræa, or Aleppo, reception of the emperor Julian there, iv. 121.

Bernard, St. his character and influence in promoting the ſecond cruſade, x. 335. His character of the Romans, xii. 76.

Bernier, his account of the camp of Aurengzebe, i. 274.

Berytus, account of the law ſchool eſtabliſhed there, iii. 38. Is deſtroyed by an earthquake, vii. 364.

Beſſarion, cardinal, his character, xi. 358.

Beſſas, governor of Rome for Juſtinian, his rapacity during the ſiege of that city by Totila the Goth, vii. 317. Occaſions the loſs of Rome, 320.

Bezabde, is taken and garriſoned by Sapor king of Perſia, iii. 165. Is ineffectually beſieged by Conſtantius, 168.

Bindoes, a Saſſanian Prince, depoſes Hormouz king of Perſia, viii. 152.

Birthright the leaſt invidious of all human diſtinctions, i. 223.

Biſhops, among the primitive Chriſtians, the office of, explained, ii. 273. Progreſs of epiſcopal authority, 276. Aſſumed dignity of epiſcopal government, 289. Number of, at the time of Conſtantine the Great, iii. 224. Mode of their election, 225. Their power of ordination, 227. The eccleſiaſtical revenue of each dioceſe how divided, *ib.* Their civil juriſdiction, 232. Their ſpiritual cenſures, 234. Their legiſlative aſſemblies, 238.

Biſhops, rural, their rank and duties, iii. 224.

Biſſextile, ſuperſtitious regard to this year by the Romans, iv. 190.
Bithynia, the cities of, plundered by the Goths, i. 350.
Blemmyes, their revolt againſt the emperor Diocletian, ii. 110.
Boccace, his literary character, xi. 353.
Boethius, the learned ſenator of Rome, his hiſtory, vii. 35. His impriſonment and death, 39.
Bohemond, the ſon of Robert Guiſcard, his character and military exploits, x. 169. 267. His route to Conſtantinople on the cruſade, 275. His flattering reception by the emperor Alexius Comnenus, 279. Takes Antioch, and obtains the principality of it, 295. His ſubſequent tranſactions, and death, 323.
Boniface, St. his hiſtory, ii. 395.
Boniface, count, the Roman general under Valentinian III. his character, vi. 7. Is betrayed into a revolt by Ætius, 9. His repentance, 15. Is beſieged in Hippo Regius by Genſeric king of the Vandals, 18. Returns to Italy, and is killed by Ætius, 19.
Boniface VIII. pope, his violent conteſt with Philip the Fair king of France, and his character, xii. 106. Inſtitutes the jubilee, 109.
Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, is choſen general of the fourth cruſade to the Holy Land, xi. 26. Is made king of Macedonia, 69. Is killed by the Bulgarians, 82.
Boſphorus, revolutions of that kingdom, i. 346. Is ſeized by the Goths, 347. The ſtrait of, deſcribed, iii. 4.
Boſra, ſiege of, by the Saracens, ix. 225.
Botheric, the Imperial general in Theſſalonica, murdered in a ſedition, v. 56.
Boucicault, marſhal, defends Conſtantinople againſt Bajazet, xi. 249.
Boulogne, the port of, recovered from Carauſius, by Conſtantius Chlorus, iii. 105.
Bowides, the Perſian dynaſty of, ix. 391.
Brancaleone, ſenator of Rome, his character, xii. 90.

INDEX.

Bretagne, the province of, in France, ſettled by Britons, vi. 308.
Britain, reflexions on the conqueſt of, by the Romans, i. 4. Deſcription of, 26. Colonies planted in, 47. A colony of Vandals ſettled there by Probus, ii. 70. Revolt of Carauſius, 102. How firſt peopled, iv. 234. Invaſions of, by the Scots and Picts, 237. Is reſtored to peace by Theodoſius, 239. Revolt of Maximus there, v. 6. Revolt of the troops there againſt Honorius, 188. Is abandoned by the Romans, 297. State of, until the arrival of the Saxons, 298. Deſcent of the Saxons on, vi. 300. Eſtabliſhment of the Saxon heptarchy, 302. Wars in, 306. Saxon devaſtation of the country, 310. Manners of the independent Britons, 315. Deſcription of, by Procopius, 317. Converſion of the Britons by a miſſion from pope Gregory the Great, viii. 136. The doctrine of the incarnation received there, 276.
Brutus the Trojan, his colonization of Britain now given up by intelligent hiſtorians, iv. 233.
Buffon, M. his extraordinary burning mirrors, vii. 94.
Bulgarians, their character, vii. 241. Their inroads on the Eaſtern empire 244. Invaſion of, under Zabergan, 351. Repulſed by Beliſarius, 353. The kingdom of, deſtroyed by Baſil II. the Greek emperor, viii. 379. Revolt of, from the Greek empire, and ſubmiſſion to the pope of Rome, xi. 13. War with the Greeks under Calo-John, 76.
Bull-feaſt, in the Coliſeum at Rome, deſcribed, xii. 197.
Burgundians, their ſettlement on the Elbe, and maxims of government, iv. 227. Their ſettlement in Gaul, v. 294. Limits of the kingdom of, under Gundobald, vi. 257. Are ſubdued by the Franks, 261.
Burnet, character of his Sacred Theory of the Earth, ii. 251.
Burrampooter, ſource of that river, xi. 262.
Buſir, in Egypt, four ſeveral places known under this name, ix. 348.

INDEX.

Buzurg, the philoſophical preceptor of Hormouz king of Perſia, his high reputation, viii. 146.
Byzantine hiſtorians, liſt and character of, xii. 64.
Byzantium, ſiege of, by the emperor Severus, i. 159. Is taken by Maximin, ii. 196. Siege of, by Conſtantine the Great, 214. Its ſituation deſcribed, iii. 3. By whom founded, 4. See *Conſtantinople*.

C

Caaba, or temple of Mecca, deſcribed, ix. 109. The idols in, deſtroyed by Mahomet, 161.
Cabades, king of Perſia, beſieges and takes Amida, vii. 114. Seizes the ſtraits of Caucaſus, 117. Viciſſitudes of his reign, 258.
Cadeſia, battle of, between the Saracens and the Perſians, ix. 210
Cadijah, her marriage with Mahomet, ix. 117. Is converted by him to his new religion, 138. Her death, 142. Mahomet's veneration for her memory, 177.
Cæcilian, the peace of the church in Africa diſturbed by him and his party, iii. 243.
Cæcilius, the authority of his account of the famous viſion of Conſtantine the Great, inquired into, iii. 207. 373.
Cæleſtian, ſenator of Carthage, his diſtreſs on the taking of that city by Genſeric, vi. 24.
Cæſar, *Julius*, his inducement to the conqueſt of Britain, i 4. Degrades the ſenatorial dignity, 79. Aſſumes a place among the tutelar deities of Rome, in his lifetime, 91. His addreſs in appeaſing a military ſedition, 208. His prudent application of the coronary gold preſented to him, iii. 71.
Cæſar and *Auguſtus*, thoſe titles explained and diſcriminated, i. 92.
Cæſars, of the emperor Julian, the philoſophical fable of that work delineated, iv. 110.
Cæſarea, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor king of Perſia, i. 361. Is reduced by the Saracens, ix. 257.

Cahina, queen of the Moors of Africa, her policy to drive the Arabs out of the country, ix. 293.
Cairoan, the city of, founded in the kingdom of Tunis, ix. 289.
Caled, deserts from the idolatrous Arabs to the party of Mahomet, ix. 159. His gallant conduct at the battle of Muta, 166. His victories under the caliph Abubeker, 209. Attends the Saracen army on the Syrian expedition, 224. His valour at the siege of Damascus, 227. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Aiznadin, 231. His cruel treatment of the refugees from Damascus, 240. Joins in plundering the fair of Abyla, 241. Commands the Saracens at the battle of Yermuk, 247. His death, 260.
Caledonia, and its ancient inhabitants, described, iv. 234.
Caledonian war, under the emperor Severus, an account of, i. 170.
Caliphs of the Saracens, character of, ix. 205. Their rapid conquests, 208. Extent and power of, 321. Triple division of the office, 350. They patronise learning, 355. Decline and fall of their empire, 387. xi. 213.
Callinicum, the punishment of a religious sedition in that city, opposed by St. Ambrose, v. 59.
Callinicus of Heliopolis, assists in defending Constantinople against the Saracens, by his chymical inflammable compositions, ix. 334.
Calmucks, black, recent emigration of, from the confines of Russia to those of China, vi. 300.
Calo-John, the Bulgarian chief, his war with Baldwin, the Latin emperor of the Greeks, xi. 76. Defeats, and takes him prisoner, 78. His savage character and death, 83.
Calocerus, a camel-driver, excites an insurrection in the island of Cyprus, iii. 90.
Calphurnius, the machinery of his eclogue on the accession of the emperor Carus, ii. 78.

Calvin, the reformer, his doctrine of the Euchariſt, x. 81. Examination of his conduct to Servetus, 82.
Canel, of Arabia, deſcribed, ix. 93.
Camiſards of Languedoc, their enthuſiaſm compared with that of the Circumcellions of Numidia, iii. 318.
Campania, the province of, deſolated by the ill policy of the Roman emperors, iii. 65. Deſcription of the Lucullan villa in, vi. 187.
Canada, the preſent climate and circumſtances of, compared with thoſe of ancient Germany, i. 286.
Cannon, enormous one of the ſultan Mahomet II. deſcribed, xii. 14. Burſts, 26.
Canoes, Ruſſian, a deſcription of, x. 112.
Cantacuzene, *John*, character of his Greek Hiſtory, xi. 166. His good fortune under the younger Andronicus, 174. Is driven to aſſume the purple 178. His lively diſtinction between foreign and civil war, 180. His entry into Conſtantinople, and reign, 183. Abdicates, and turns monk, 187. His war with the Genoeſe factory at Pera, 194. Marries his daughter to a Turk, 233. His negociation with pope Clement VI. 309.
Cantemir's Hiſtory of the Ottoman Empire, a character of, xi. 228.
Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, defeats the younger Gordian, and takes Carthage, i. 239.
Capitation-tax, under the Roman emperors, an account of, iii. 65.
Capito, *Ateius*, the civilian, his character, viii. 23.
Capitol of Rome, burning and reſtoration of, ii. 340.
Cappadocia, famous for its fine breed of horſes, iii. 56.
Capraria, iſle of, character of the monks there, v. 140.
Captives, how treated by the Barbarians, vi. 44. 283.
Caracalla, ſon of the emperor Severus, his fixed antipathy to his brother Geta, i. 170. Succeeds to the empire jointly with him, 173. Tendency of his edict to extend the privileges of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of his empire, 210. His view in this tran-

faction, 219. Doubles the tax on legacies and inheritances, 220.
Caracorum, the Tartar ſettlement of, deſcribed, xi. 219.
Caravans, Sogdian, their route to and from China, for ſilk, to ſupply the Roman empire, vii. 77.
Carauſius, his revolt in Britain, ii. 102. Is acknowledged by Diocletian and his colleagues, 104.
Carbeas, the Paulician, his revolt from the Greek emperor to the Saracens, x. 71.
Cardinals, the election of a pope veſted in them, xii. 102. Inſtitution of the conclave, 103.
Carduene, ſituation and hiſtory of that territory, ii. 127.
Carinus, the ſon of Carus, ſucceeds his father in the empire, jointly with his brother Numerian, ii. 81.
Carizmians, their invaſion of Syria, x. 369.
Carlovingian race of kings, commencement, of, in France, ix. 34.
Carmath, the Arabian reformer, his character, ix. 383. His military exploits, 385.
Carmelites, from whom they derive their pedigree, vi 194.
Carpathian mountains, their ſituation, i. 284.
Carthage, the biſhopric of, bought for Majorinus, ii. 372. Religious diſcord generated there by the factions of Cæcilian and Donatus, iii. 244. The temple of Venus there, converted into a Chriſtian church, v. 91. Is ſurpriſed by Genſeric king of the Vandals, vi. 22. The gates of, opened to Beliſarius, vii. 149. Natural alterations produced by time in the ſituation of this city, 151. The walls of, repaired by Beliſarius, 153. Inſurrection of the Roman troops there, 302. Is reduced and pillaged by Haſſan the Saracen, ix. 291. Subſequent hiſtory of, 292.
Carthagena, an extraordinary rich ſilver mine worked there for the Romans, i. 213.
Carus, emperor, his election and character, ii. 76.
Caſpian and Iberian gates of mount Caucaſus, diſtinguiſhed, vii. 117.
Caſſians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 24.

INDEX.

Caſſiodorus, his Gothic hiſtory, i 319. His account of the infant ſtate of the republic of Venice, vi. 104. His long and proſperous life, vii. 24.
Caſtriot, *George*; ſee *Scanderbeg*.
Catalans, their ſervice and war in the Greek empire, xi. 153.
Catholic church, the doctrines of, how diſcriminated from the opinions of the Platonic ſchool, iii. 252. The authority of, extended to the minds of mankind, 256. Faith of the Weſtern or Latin church, 268. Is diſtracted by factions in the cauſe of Athanaſius, 283. The doxology, how introduced, and how perverted, 304. The revenue of, transferred to the heathen prieſts, by Julian, iv. 88. Edict of Theodoſius for the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic faith, v. 12. The progreſſive ſteps of idolatry in, 103. Perſecution of the Catholics in Africa, vi. 223. Pious frauds of the Catholic clergy, 232. How bewildered by the doctrine of the incarnation, viii. 228. Union of the Greek and Latin churches, 276. Schiſm of the Greek church, xi. 1.
Celeſtine, pope, eſpouſes the party of Cyril againſt Neſtorius, and pronounces the degradation of the latter from his epiſcopal dignity, viii. 236.
Celtic language, driven to the mountains by the Latin, i. 49.
Cenſor, the office of, revived under the emperor Decius, i. 329. But without effect, 330.
Ceos, the manufacture of ſilk, firſt introduced into Europe from that iſland, vii. 75.
Cerca, the principal queen of Attila king of the Huns, her reception of Maximin the Roman ambaſſador, vi. 61.
Cerinthus, his opinion of the twofold nature of Jeſus Chriſt, viii. 223.
Ceylon, ancient names given to that iſland, and the imperfect knowledge of, by the Romans, iv. 388.
Chalcedon, the injudicious ſituation of this city ſtigmatized by proverbial contempt, iii. 6. A tribunal erected there by the emperor Julian, to try and puniſh the evil miniſters of his predeceſſor Conſtantius, iv. 38. A ſtately

church built there by Rufinus, the infamous minister of the emperor Theodosius, v. 119. Is taken by Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 185.

Chalcondyles, the Greek historian, his remarks on the several nations of Europe, xi. 320.

Chalons, battle of, between the Romans and Attila king of the Huns, vi. 94.

Chamavians, reduced and generously treated by Julian, iii. 180.

Chancellor, the original and modern application of this word compared, ii. 417.

Characters, national, the distinctions of, how formed, iv. 275.

Chariots of the Romans described, v. 222.

Charlemagne conquers the kingdom of Lombardy, ix. 32. His reception at Rome, 36. Eludes fulfilling the promises of Pepin and himself to the Roman pontiff, 39. His coronation at Rome by the pope Leo III. 50. His reign and character, 51. Extent of his empire, 55. His neighbours and enemies, 59. His successors, 61. His negociations and treaty with the Eastern empire, 65. State of his family and dominions in the tenth century, x. 46.

Charles the Fat emperor of the Romans, ix. 63.

Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily, xi. 146. The *Sicilian Vespers*, 151. His character as a senator of Rome, xii. 91.

Charles IV. emperor of Germany, his weakness and poverty, ix. 83. His public ostentation, 85. Contrast between him and Augustus, 86.

Charles V. emperor, parallel between him and Diocletian, ii. 141. And between the sack of Rome by him, and that by Alaric the Goth, v. 264.

Chastity, its high esteem among the ancient Germans, i. 302. And the primitive Christians, ii. 267.

Chemistry, the art of, from whom derived, ix. 361.

Chersonesus, Thracian, how fortified by the emperor Justinian, vii. 107.

Cherſonites aſſiſt Conſtantine the Great againſt the Goths, iii. 95. Are cruelly perſecuted by the Greek emperor Juſtinian II. viii. 330.

Cheſs, the object of the game of, and by whom invented, vii. 266.

Childeric, king of France, depoſed under papal ſanction, ix. 34.

Children, the expoſing of, a prevailing vice of antiquity, viii. 42. Natural according to the Roman laws, what, 51.

China, how diſtinguiſhed in ancient hiſtory, ii. 116. Great numbers of children annually expoſed there, 286. Its ſituation, iv. 288. The high chronology claimed by the hiſtorians of, 289. The great wall of, when erected, 292. Was twice conquered by the northern tribes, 294. The Romans ſupplied with ſilk by the caravans from, vii. 77. Is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 210. 220. Expulſion of the Moguls, 222.

Chivalry, origin of the order of, x. 268.

Chnodomar, prince of the Alemanni, taken priſoner by Julian at the battle of Strasburgh, iii. 178.

Choſroes, king of Armenia, aſſaſſinated by the emiſſaries of Sapor king of Perſia, i. 358.

Choſroes, ſon of Tiridates, king of Armenia, his character, iii. 106.

Choſroes I. king of Perſia, protects the laſt ſurviving philoſophers of Athens, in his treaty with the emperor Juſtinian, vii. 126. Review of his hiſtory, 259. Sells a peace to Juſtinian, 266. His invaſion of Syria, 269. His negociations with Juſtinian, 293. His proſperity, 296. Battle of Melitene, 297. His death, viii. 146.

Choſroes II. king of Perſia, is raiſed to the throne on the depoſition of his father Hormouz, viii. 154. Is reduced to implore the aſſiſtance of the emperor Maurice, 156. His reſtoration and policy, 158. Conquers Syria, 183. Paleſtine, *ibid.* Egypt and Aſia Minor, 184. His reign and magnificence, 185. Rejects the Mahometan religion, 188. Impoſes an ignominious peace on the

emperor Heraclius, 191. His flight, depoſition, and death, 209.
Chozars, the hord of, ſent by the Turks to the aſſiſtance of the emperor Heraclius, viii. 204.
Chriſt, the feſtival of his birth, why fixed by the Romans at the winter ſolſtice, iv. 19.
Chriſtians, primitive, the various ſects into which they branched out, ii. 229. Aſcribed the Pagan idolatry to the agency of dæmons, 237. Believed the end of the world to be near at hand, 247. The miraculous powers aſcribed to the primitive church, 254. Their faith ſtronger than in modern times, 258. Their ſuperior virtue and auſterity, 260. Repentance a virtue in high eſteem among them, *ib.* Their notions of marriage and chaſtity, 266. They diſclaimed war and government, 268. Were active however in the internal government of their own ſociety, 270. Biſhops, 273. Synods, 275. Metropolitans and primates, 278. Biſhop of Rome, 279. Their probable proportion to the Pagan ſubjects of the empire before the converſion of Conſtantine the Great, 305. Inquiry into their perſecutions, 314. Why more odious to the governing powers than the Jews, 319. Their religious meetings ſuſpected, 324. Are perſecuted by Nero, as the incendiaries of Rome, 333. Inſtructions of the emperor Trajan to Pliny the younger for the regulation of his conduct toward them, 344. Remained expoſed to popular reſentment on public feſtivities, 345. Legal mode of proceeding againſt them, 347. The ardour with which they courted martyrdom, 359. When allowed to erect places for public worſhip, 368. Their perſecution under Diocletian and his aſſociates, 381. An edict of toleration for them publiſhed by Galerius juſt before his death, 396. Some conſiderations neceſſary to be attended to in reading the ſufferings of the martyrs, 402. Edict of Milan publiſhed by Conſtantine the Great, iii. 194. Political recommendations of the Chriſtian morality to Conſtantine, 197. Theory and practice of paſſive obedience, 198.

Their loyalty and zeal, 202. The ſacrament of baptiſm, how adminiſtered in early times, 216. Extraordinary propagation of Chriſtianity after it obtained the Imperial ſanction, 219. Becomes the eſtabliſhed religion of the Roman empire, 221. Spiritual and temporal powers diſtinguiſhed, 222. Review of the epiſcopal order in the church, 224. The eccleſiaſtical revenue of each dioceſe, how divided, 232. Their legiſlative aſſemblies, 238. Edict of Conſtantine the Great againſt heretics, 242. Myſterious doctrine of the Trinity, 252. The doctrines of the Catholic church, how diſcriminated from the opinions of the Platonic ſchool, 253. General character of the Chriſtian ſects, 319. Chriſtian ſchools prohibited by the emperor Julian, iv. 89. They are removed from all offices of truſt, 90. Are obliged to reinſtate the Pagan temples, 92. Their imprudent and irregular zeal againſt idolatry, 97. Diſtinction of, into *vulgar* and aſcetic, vi. 193. Converſion of the barbarous nations, 214.

Chriſtianity, inquiry into the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of, ii. 219. Religion and character of the Jews, 221. The Jewiſh religion the baſis of Chriſtianity, 226. Is offered to all mankind, 227. The ſects into which the Chriſtians divided, 229. The theology of, reduced to a ſyſtematical form in the ſchool of Alexandria, 299. Injudicious conduct of its early advocates, 311. Its perſecutions, 314. Firſt erection of churches, 368. The ſyſtem of, found in Plato's doctrine of the *Logos*, iii. 252. Salutary effects reſulting from the converſion of the barbarous nations, vi. 220. Its progreſs in the north of Europe, x. 123.

Chryſaphius the Eunuch, engages Edecon, to aſſaſſinate his king Attila, vi. 67. Is put to death by the empreſs Pulcheria, 70. Aſſiſted at the ſecond council of Epheſus, viii. 248.

Chryſocheir, general of the revolted Paulicians, over-runs and pillages Aſia Minor, x. 72. His death, 74.

INDEX.

Chryſoloras, Manuel, the Greek envoy, his character, xi. 356. His admiration of Rome and Conſtantinople, 368.

Chryſopolis, battle of, between Conſtantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 216.

Chryſoſtom, St. his account of the pompous luxury of the emperor Arcadius, v. 304. Protects his fugitive patron the eunuch Eutropius, 319. Hiſtory of his promotion to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Conſtantinople, 325. His character and adminiſtration, 327. His perſecution, 329. His death, 334. His relics removed to Conſtantinople, *ib.* His encomium on the monaſtic life, vi. 199.

Churches, Chriſtian, the firſt erection of, ii. 368. Demolition of, under Diocletian, 388. Splendour of, under Conſtantine the Great, iii. 231. Seven, of Aſia, the fate of, xi. 230.

Cibalis, battle of, between Conſtantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 202.

Cicero, his view of the philoſophical opinions as to the immortality of the ſoul, ii. 242. His encomium on the ſtudy of the law, viii. 6. Syſtem of his *republic*, 20.

Cimmerian darkneſs, the expreſſion of, whence derived, v. 224.

Circumcellions of Africa, Donatiſt ſchiſmatics, hiſtory of their revolt, iii. 315. Their religious ſuicides, 318. Perſecution of, by the emperor Honorius, vi. 14.

Circumciſion of both ſexes, a phyſical cuſtom in Æthiopia, unconnected with religion, viii. 307.

Circus, Roman, the four factions in, deſcribed, vii. 61. Conſtantinople, and the Eaſtern empire, diſtracted by theſe factions, 63.

Cities in the Roman empire enumerated, i. 63. Commercial, of Italy, riſe, and government of ix. 76.

Citizens of Rome, motive of Caracalla for extending the privileges of, to all the free inhabitants of the empire, i. 210. 220. Political tendency of this grant, 221.

INDEX.

City the birth of a new one, how celebrated by the Romans, iii. 11.

Civilians of Rome, origin of the profeſſion, and the three periods in the hiſtory of, viii. 16.

Civilis, the Batavian, his ſucceſsful revolt againſt the Romans, i. 310.

Claudian the poet, and Panegyriſt of Stilicho, his works ſupply the deficiencies of hiſtory, v. 126. Celebrates the murder of Rufinus, 132. His death and character, 205. His character of the eunuch Eutropius, 309.

Claudius, emperor, choſen by the Pretorian guards, without the concurrence of the ſenate, i. 95.

Claudius, emperor, ſucceſſor to Gallienus, his character and elevation to the throne, ii. 4.

Cleander, miniſter of the emperor Commodus, his hiſtory, i. 118.

Clemens, Flavius, and his wife Domitilla, why diſtinguiſhed as Chriſtian martyrs, ii. 341.

Clement III. pope, and the emperor Henry III. mutually confirm each other's ſovereign characters, x. 172.

Clement V. pope, transfers the holy ſee from Rome to Avignon, xii. 108.

Clergy, when firſt diſtinguiſhed from the laity, ii. 280. iii. 223. The ranks and numbers of, how multiplied, iii. 229. Their property, *ib.* Their offences only cogniſable by their own order, 233. Valentinian's edict to reſtrain the avarice of, iv. 216.

Clodion, the firſt of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks in Gaul, his reign, vi. 82.

Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, his ſteady fidelity during the revolutions at Rome, i. 144. Declares himſelf againſt Julianus, 146.

Clotilda, niece of the king of Burgundy, is married to Clovis king of the Franks, and converts her Pagan husband, vi. 253. Exhorts her husband to the Gothic war, 263.

Clovis, king of the Franks, his deſcent, and reign, vi. 247.

Cluverius,

Cluverius, his account of the objects of adoration among the ancient Germans, i. 306.
Cochineal, importance of the discovery of, in the art of dying, vii. 74
Code of Justinian, how formed, viii. 27. New edition of, 34.
Codicils, how far admitted by the Roman law respecting testaments, viii. 62.
Cœnobites, in monkish history, described, vi. 210.
Coinage, how regulated by the Roman emperors, xii. 86.
Colchos, the modern Mingrelia, described, vii. 277. Manners of the natives, 279. Revolt of, from the Romans to the Persians, and repentance, 285. Colchian war, in consequence, 290.
Coliseum, of the emperor Titus, observations on, xii. 196. Exhibition of a bull-feast in, 197.
Collyridian heretics, an account of, ix. 121.
Colonies, Roman, how planted, i. 47.
Colonna, history of the Roman family of, xii. 114.
Colossus of Rhodes, some account of, ix. 261.
Columns of Hercules, their situation, i. 35.
Comana, the rich temple of, suppressed, and the revenues confiscated, by the emperors of the East, iii. 56.
Combat, judicial, origin of, in the Salic laws, vi. 278. The laws of, according to the assize of Jerusalem, x. 318. Apology for the practice of, xi. 130.
Comets, account of those which appeared in the reign of Justinian, vii. 360.
Commentiolus, his disgraceful warfare against the Avars, viii. 167.
Commodus, emperor, his education, character, and reign, i. 111.
Comneni, origin of the family of, on the throne of Constantinople, viii. 385. Its extinction, xii. 57.
Conception, immaculate, of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of, from whence derived, ix. 124.
Concubine, according to the Roman civil law, explained, viii. 51.

INDEX.

Conflagration, general ideas of the primitive Chriſtians, concerning, ii. 250.

Conqueſt, the vanity of, not ſo juſtifiable as the deſire of ſpoil, iv. 237. Is rather atchieved by art, than perſonal valour, vi. 34.

Conrad III. emperor, engages in the ſecond cruſade, x. 325. His diſaſtrous expedition, 331.

Conrad of Montferrat defends Tyre againſt Saladin, x. 355. Is aſſaſſinated, 359.

Conſtance, treaty of, ix. 78.

Conſtans, the third ſon of Conſtantine the Great, is ſent to govern the weſtern provinces of the empire, iii. 89. Diviſion of the empire among him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 102. Is invaded by his brother Conſtantine, 113. Is killed, on the uſurpation of Magnentius, 115. Eſpouſed the cauſe of Athanaſius againſt his brother Conſtantius, 286.

Conſtans II. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 321.

Conſtantia, princeſs, grand-daughter of Conſtantine the Great, is carried by her mother to the camp of the uſurper Procopius, iv. 198. Narrowly eſcapes falling into the hands of the Quadi, 266. Marries the emperor Gratian, 271.

Conſtantina, daughter of Conſtantine the Great, and widow of Hannibalianus, places the diadem on the head of the general Vetranio, iii. 116. Is married to Gallus, 134. Her character, 135. Dies, 139.

Conſtantina, widow of the Eaſtern emperor Maurice, the cruel fate of, and her daughters, viii. 177.

Conſtantine the Great, the ſeveral opinions as to the place of his birth, ii. 157. His hiſtory, 158. He is ſaluted emperor by the Britiſh legions on the death of his father, 160. Marries Fauſta, the daughter of Maximian, 167. Puts Maximian to death, 175. General review of his adminiſtration in Gaul, 177. Undertakes to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius, 183. Defeats Maxentius, and enters Rome, 190. His alliance with Licinius, 195. Defeats Licinius, 202. 204. Peace

concluded with Licinius, 205. His laws, 206. Chaſtiſes the Goths, 209. Second civil war with Licinius, 211. Motives which induced him to make Byzantium the capital of his empire, iii. 3. Declares his determination to ſpring from divine command, 11. Deſpoils other cities of their ornaments to decorate his new capital, 15. Ceremony of dedicating his new city, 21. Form of civil and military adminiſtration eſtabliſhed there, *ib.* Separates the civil from the military adminiſtration, 41. Corrupted military diſcipline, 43. His character, 74. Account of his family, 78. His jealouſy of his ſon Criſpus, 81. Myſterious deaths of Criſpus and Licinius, 84. His repentance and acts of atonement inquired into, 85. His ſons and nephews, 87. Sends them to ſuperintend the ſeveral provinces of the empire, 89. Aſſiſts the Sarmatians, and provokes the Goths, 93. Reduces the Goths to peace, 95. His death, 97. Attempt to aſcertain the date of his converſion to Chriſtianity, 190. His Pagan ſuperſtition, 193. Protects the Chriſtians in Gaul, 194. Publiſhes the edict of Milan, *ib.* Motives which recommended the Chriſtians to his favour, 197. Exhorts his ſubjects to embrace the Chriſtian profeſſion, 202. His famous ſtandard the *Labarum* deſcribed, 205. His celebrated viſion previous to his battle with Maxentius, 207. Story of the miraculous croſs in the air, 210. His converſion accounted for, from natural and probable cauſes, 212. His theological diſcourſes, 214. His devotion and privileges, 215. The delay of his baptiſm accounted for, 216. Is commemorated as a ſaint by the Greeks, 219. His edict againſt heretics, 241. Favours the cauſe of Cæcilian againſt Donatus, 245. His ſenſible letter to the biſhop of Alexandria, 271. How prevailed on to ratify the Nicene creed, 272. His levity in religion, 275. Granted a toleration to his Pagan ſubjects, 321. His reform of Pagan abuſes, 322. Was aſſociated with the Heathen Deities after his death, by a decree of the ſenate, 324. His diſcovery of the

INDEX.

Abolition of the monkiſh order by Conſtantine, 16. Firſt ſiege of, by the Saracens, 324. Second ſiege by the Saracens, 328. Review of the provinces of the Greek empire, in the tenth century, x. 6. Riches of the city of Conſtantinople, 16. The imperial palace of, 19. Officers of ſtate, 24. Military character of the Greeks, 40. The name and character of Romans, ſupported to the laſt, 52. Decline, and revival of literature, 53. The city menaced by the Turks, 101. Account of the Varangians, 107. Naval expeditions of the Ruſſians againſt the city, 111. Origin of the ſeparation of the Greek and Latin churches, xi. 1. Maſſacre of the Latins, 10. Invaſion of the Greek empire, and conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the cruſaders, 34. The city taken, and Iſaac Angelus reſtored, 43. Part of the city burned by the Latins, 46. Second ſiege of the city by the Latins, 49. Is pillaged, 53. Account of the ſtatues deſtroyed, 59. Partition of the Greek empire by the French and Venetians, 64. The Greeks riſe againſt their Latin conquerors, 76. The city retaken by the Greeks, 99. The ſuburb of Galata, aſſigned to the Genoeſe, 191. Hoſtilities between the Genoeſe and the emperor, 194. How the city eſcaped the Moguls, 223. Is beſieged by the ſultan Amurath II. 279. Is compared with Rome, 368. Is beſieged by Mahomet II. ſultan of the Turks, xii. 9. Is ſtormed and taken, 44. Becomes the capital of the Turkiſh empire, 54.

Conſtantius Chlorus, governor of Dalmatia, was intended to be adopted by the emperor Carus, in the room of his vicious ſon Carinus, ii. 84. Is aſſociated as Cæſar by Diocletian in his adminiſtration, 98. Aſſumes the title of Auguſtus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 153. His death, 159. Granted a toleration to the Chriſtians, 392.

Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon of Conſtantine the Great, his education, iii. 88. Is ſent to govern the Eaſtern provinces of the empire, 89. Seizes Conſtantinople on the death of his father, 100. Conſpires the deaths of

his kinſmen, 101. Diviſion of the empire among him and his brothers, 102. Reſtores Choſroes king of Armenia, 106. Battle of Singara with Sapor king of Perſia, 107. Rejects the offers of Magnentius and Vetranio, on the plea of a viſion, 118. His oration to the Illyrian troops at the interview with Vetranio, 120. Defeats Magnentius at the battle of Murſa, 124. His councils governed by eunuchs, 131. Education of his couſins Gallus and Julian, 132. Diſgrace and death of Gallus, 139. Sends for Julian to court, 144. Inveſts him with the title of Cæſar, 147. Viſits Rome, 149. Preſents an obeliſk to that city, 152. The Quadian and Sarmatian wars, 153. His Perſian negociations, 157. Miſmanagement of affairs in the Eaſt, 166. Favours the Arians, 275. His religious character by Ammianus the hiſtorian, 277. His reſtleſs endeavours to eſtabliſh an uniformity of Chriſtian doctrine, 278. Athanaſius driven into exile by the council of Antioch, 287. Is intimidated by his brother Conſtans, and invites Athanaſius back again, 289. His ſevere treatment of thoſe biſhops who refuſed to concur in depoſing Athanaſius, 295. His ſcrupulous orthodoxy, 297. His cautious conduct in expelling Athanaſius from Alexandria, 298. His ſtrenuous efforts to ſeize his perſon, 300. Athanaſius writes invectives to expoſe his character, 305. Is conſtrained to reſtore Liberius biſhop of Rome, 310. Supports Macedonius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, and countenances his perſecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 312. His conduct toward his Pagan ſubjects, 323. Envies the fame of Julian, iv. 2. Recals the legions from Gaul, 3. Negociations between him and Julian, 16. His preparations to oppoſe Julian, 26. His death and character, 28.

Conſtantius, general, relieves the Britiſh emperor Conſtantine when beſieged in Arles, v. 279. His character and victories, 281. His marriage with Placidia, and death, vi. 2.

Conſtantius, ſecretary to Attila king of the Huns, his

matrimonial negociation at the court of Conſtantinople, vi. 54.

Conſul, the office of, explained, i. 86. Alterations this office underwent under the emperors, and when Conſtantinople became the ſeat of empire, iii. 25. The office of, ſuppreſſed by the emperor Juſtinian, vii. 126. Is now ſunk to a commercial agent, xii. 84.

Contracts, the Roman laws reſpecting, viii. 65.

Copts of Egypt, brief hiſtory of, viii. 296.

Corinth, reviving as a Roman colony, celebrates the Iſthmian games, under the emperor Julian, iv. 45. The iſthmus of, fortified by the emperor Juſtinian, vii. 107.

Corvinus, Matthias, king of Hungary, his character, xi. 391.

Cornwal, reduction of, by the Saxons, vi. 308.

Coronary gold, nature of thoſe offerings to the Roman emperors, iii. 71.

Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, account of his Chriſtian topography, vii. 83. viii. 283.

Coſmo of Medicis, his character, xi. 363.

Councils and ſynods of

Antioch, iii. 287.
Arles, iii. 293.
Baſil, xi. 329.
Carthage, vi. 227. vii. 159.
Chalcedon, v. 330. viii. 250.
Clermont, x. 246.
Conſtance, xi. 323. 328. xii. 163.
Conſtantinople, v. 22. viii. 270. 274. ix. 12. xi. 6.
Epheſus, viii. 238. 248.
Ferrara, xi. 337.
Florence, xi. 339.
Frankfort, ix. 46.
Lyons, vi. 258. xi. 93. 143.
Milan, iii. 292.
Nice, iii. 261. ix. 43.
Piſa, xi. 328. xii. 162.
Placentia, x. 243.

Rimini, iii. 270.
Sardica, iii. 288.
Toledo, vi. 239. 242. 298.
Tyre, iii. 284.

Count, great difference between the ancient and modern application of this title, iii. 42. By whom firſt invented, *ib.* Of the ſacred largeſſes, under Conſtantine the Great, his office, 54. Of the domeſtics in the Eaſtern empire, his office, 57.

Courtenay, hiſtory of the family of, xi. 108.

Creſcentius, conſul of Rome, his viciſſitudes, and diſgraceful death, ix. 74.

Crete, the iſle of, ſubdued by the Saracens, ix. 368. Is recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 394. Is purchaſed by the Venetians, xi. 69.

Crimes, how diſtinguiſhed by the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 77.

Criſpus, ſon of Conſtantine the Great, is declared Cæſar, ii. 205. Diſtinguiſhes his valour againſt the Franks and Alemanni, 209. Forces the paſſage of the Helleſpont, and defeats the fleet of Licinius, 214. His character, iii. 80. His myſterious death, 83.

Criſpus, the Patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, and contributes to depoſe him, viii. 178. Is obliged to turn monk, 180.

Croatia, account of the kingdom of, x. 88.

Croſs, the different ſentiments entertained of this inſtrument of puniſhment, by the Pagan and Chriſtian Romans, iii. 205. The famous ſtandard of, in the army of Conſtantine the Great deſcribed, 206. His viſions of, 207. 210. The holy ſepulchre and croſs of Chriſt diſcovered, iv. 81. The croſs of Chriſt undiminiſhed by diſtribution to pilgrims, 82.

Crown of thorns, its transfer from Conſtantinople to Paris, xi. 95.

Crowns, mural and obſidional, the diſtinction between, iv. 140.

Cruſade, the firſt reſolved on at the council of Clermont,

x. 248. Inquiry into the juſtice of the holy war, 249. Examination into the private motives of the cruſaders, 255. Departure of the cruſaders, 259. Account of the chiefs, 263. Their march to Conſtantinople, 272. Review of their numbers, 283. They take Nice, 286. Battle of Dorylæum, 288. They take Antioch, 292. Their diſtreſſes, 296. Are relieved by the diſcovery of the holy lance, 299. Siege and conqueſt of Jeruſalem, 306. Godfrey of Bouillon choſen king of Jeruſalem, 311. The ſecond cruſade, 325. The cruſaders ill treated by the Greek emperors, 329. The third cruſade, 354. Siege of Acre, 356. Fourth and fifth cruſades, 365. Sixth cruſade, 370. Seventh cruſade, 374. Recapitulation of the fourth cruſade, xi. 25. General conſequences of the cruſades, 103.

Cteſiphon, the city of plundered by the Romans, i. 275. Its ſituation deſcribed, iv. 142. Julian declines the ſiege of that city, 148. Is ſacked by the Saracens, ix. 213.

Cublai, emperor of China, his character, xi. 221.

Curopolata, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 24.

Cuſtoms, duties of, impoſed by Auguſtus, i. 215.

Cycle of indictions, the origin of, traced, and how now employed, iii. 61.

Cyprian, biſhop of Carthage, his hiſtory and martyrdom, ii. 351.

Cyprus, the kingdom of, beſtowed on the houſe of Luſignan, by Richard I. of England, xi. 13.

Cyrene, the Greek colonies there finally exterminated by Choſroes II. king of Perſia, viii. 185.

Cyriades, an obſcure fugitive, is ſet up by Sapor the Perſian monarch, as emperor of Rome, i. 360.

Cyril, biſhop of Jeruſalem, his pompous relation of the miraculous appearance of a celeſtial croſs, iii. 276. His ambiguous character, iv. 82.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, his life and character, viii. 229. Condemns the hereſy of Neſtorius, 237.

Procures the deciſion of the council of Epheſus againſt Neſtorius, 239. His court intrigues, 243.
Cyzicus, how it eſcaped deſtruction from the Goths, i. 351. Is at length ruined by them, 353. The iſland and city of, ſeized by the uſurper Procopius, iv. 198.

D

Dacia, conqueſt of, by the emperor Trajan, i. 6. Its ſituation, 30. Is over-run by the Goths, 326. Is reſigned to them by Aurelian, ii. 17.
Dæmons, ſuppoſed to be the authors and objects of Pagan idolatry, by the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 237.
Dagiſteus, general of the emperor Juſtinian, beſieges Petra, vii. 287. Commands the Huns in Italy under Narſes, 335.
Daimbert, archbiſhop of Piſa, inſtalled patriarch of Jeruſalem, x. 312.
Dalmatia deſcribed, i. 29. Produce of a ſilver mine there, 213.
Dalmatius, nephew of Conſtantine the Great, is created Cæſar, iii. 87. Is ſent to govern the Gothic frontier, 89. Is cruelly deſtroyed by Conſtantius, 101.
Damaſcus, ſiege of, by the Saracens, ix. 227. The city reduced both by ſtorm and by treaty, 235. Remarks on Hughes' tragedy of this ſiege, 238. Taken and deſtroyed by Tamerlane, xi. 269.
Damaſus, biſhop of Rome, edict of Valentinian addreſſed to him, to reſtrain the crafty avarice of the Roman clergy, iv. 216. His bloody conteſt with Urſinus for the epiſcopal dignity, 219.
Dames, the Arab, his gallant enterprize againſt the caſtle of Aleppo, ix. 254.
Damietta, is taken by Louis IX. of France, x. 371.
Damophilus, archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, reſigns his ſee, rather than ſubſcribe the Nicene creed, v. 18.
Dandolo, Henry, doge of Venice, his character, xi. 23. Is made deſpot of Romania, 68.

INDEX.

Daniel, firſt biſhop of Wincheſter, his inſtructions to St. Boniface, for the converſion of infidels, vi. 218.

Danielis, a Grecian matron, her preſents to the emperor Baſil, x. 14. Her viſit to him at Conſtantinople, 21. Her teſtament, 22.

Danube, courſe of the river, and the provinces of, deſcribed, i. 28.

Daphne, the ſacred grove and temple of, at Antioch, deſcribed, iv. 94. Is converted to Chriſtian purpoſes by Gallus, and reſtored to the Pagans by Julian, 96. The temple burned, 97.

Dara, the fortification of, by Juſtinian, deſcribed, vii. 115. The demolition of, by the Perſians, prevented by peace, 266. Is taken by Choſroes king of Perſia, viii. 143.

Darius, his ſcheme for connecting the continents of Europe and Aſia, iii. 5.

Darkneſs, præternatural, at the time of the paſſion, is unnoticed by the heathen philoſophers and hiſtorians, ii. 312.

Daſtagard, the Perſian royal ſeat of, plundered by the emperor Heraclius, viii. 208.

Datianus, governor of Spain, yields ready obedience to the Imperial edicts againſt the Chriſtians, ii. 392.

Datius, biſhop of Milan, inſtigates the revolt of the Ligurians to Juſtinian, vii. 208. Eſcapes to Conſtantinople on the taking of Milan by the Burgundians, 215.

Debtors, inſolvent, cruel puniſhment of, by the law of the twelve tables, viii. 72.

Decemvirs, review of the laws of their twelve tables, viii. 4. Theſe laws ſuperſeded by the perpetual edict, 11. Severity of, 70.

Decius, his exaltation to the empire, i. 317. Was a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, ii. 370.

Decurions, in the Roman empire, are ſeverely treated by the Imperial laws, iii. 63.

INDEX.

Deification of the Roman emperors, how this ſpecies of idolatry was introduced, i. 91.

Delators, are encouraged by the emperor Commodus, to gratify his hatred of the ſenate, i. 115. Are ſuppreſſed by Pertinax, 132.

Delphi, the ſacred ornaments of the temple of, removed to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine the Great, iii. 16.

Democracy, a form of government unfavourable to freedom in a large ſtate, i. 44.

Demoſthenes, governor of Cæſarea, his gallant defence againſt, and heroic eſcape from, Sapor king of Perſia, i. 361.

Deogratias, biſhop of Carthage, humanely ſuccours the captives brought from Rome by Genſeric king of the Vandals, vi. 126.

Derar the Saracen, his character, ix. 230.

Deſiderius, the laſt king of the Lombards, conquered by Charlemagne, ix. 32.

Deſpot, nature of that title in the Greek empire, x. 24.

Deſpotiſm originates in ſuperſtition, i. 297.

Diadem aſſumed by Diocletian, what, ii. 136.

Diamonds, the art of cutting them, unknown to the ancients, i. 216.

Didius Julianus, purchaſes the imperial dignity at a public auction, i. 141.

Dioceſes of the Roman empire, their number and government, iii. 35.

Diocletian, the manner of his military election to the empire, ii. 91. His birth and character, 93. Takes Maximian for his colleague, 96. Aſſociates as Cæſars, Galerius, and Conſtantius Chlorus, 97. His triumph in conjunction with Maximian, 128. Fixes his court at the city of Nicomedia, 131. Abdicates the empire, 141. Parallel between him and the emperor Charles V. *ib.* Paſſes his life in retirement at Salona, 144. His impartial behaviour toward the Chriſtians, 375. Cauſes

that produced the perſecution of the Chriſtians under his reign, 377.

Dion Caſſius the hiſtorian, ſcreened from the fury of the ſoldiers, by the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 206.

Dioſcorus, patriarch of Alexandria, his outrageous behaviour at the ſecond council of Epheſus, viii. 249. Is depoſed by the council of Chalcedon, 253.

Diſabul, great khan of the Turks, his reception of the ambaſſadors of Juſtinian, vii. 255.

Divorce, the liberty and abuſe of, by the Roman laws, viii. 346. Limitations of, 48.

Docetes, their peculiar tenets, iii. 251. viii. 220. Derivation of their name, iii. 252.

Dominic, St. Loricatus, his fortitude in flagellation, x. 254.

Dominus, when this epithet was applied to the Roman emperors, ii. 134.

Domitian, emperor, his treatment of his kinſmen Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clemens, ii. 341.

Domitian, the Oriental prefect, is ſent by the emperor Conſtantius, to reform the ſtate of the Eaſt, then oppreſſed by Gallus, iii. 137. Is put to death there, 138.

Donatus, his conteſt with Cæcilian for the ſee of Carthage, iii. 245. Hiſtory of the ſchiſm of the Donatiſts, 246. 315. Perſecution of the Donatiſts by the emperor Honorius, vi. 13.

Dorylæum, battle of, between ſultan Soliman and the firſt cruſaders, x. 288.

Doxology, how introduced into the church-ſervice, and how perverted, iii. 307.

Dramatic repreſentations at Rome, a character of, v. 234.

Dreams, the popular opinion of the preternatural origin of, favourable to that of Conſtantine previous to his battle with Maxentius, iii. 207.

Dromedary, extraordinary ſpeed of this animal, ii. 36.

Dromones of the Greek empire, described, x. 38.
Druids, their power in Gaul suppressed by the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, i. 42.
Druses of mount Libanus, a character of, x. 236.
Duke, derivation of that title, and great change in the modern, from the ancient application of it, iii. 42.
Durazzo, siege of, by Robert Guiscard, x. 161. Battle of, between him and the Greek emperor Alexius, 166.

E

Earthquake, an extraordinary one over great part of the Roman empire, iv. 273. Account of those that happened in the reign of Justinian, vii. 364.
East-India, the Roman commercial intercourse with that region, i. 72. Commodities of, taxed by Alexander Severus, 215.
Ebionites, account of that sect, ii. 231. A confutation of their errors, supposed by the primitive fathers, to be a particular object in the writings of St. John the Evangelist, iii. 250. Their ideas of the person of Jesus Christ, viii. 217.
Ecclesiastes, the book of, why not likely to be the production of king Solomon, vii. 163.
Ecclesiastical and civil powers, distinguished, by the fathers of the Christian church, iii. 223.
Ecdicius, son of the emperor Avitus, his gallant conduct in Gaul, vi. 168.
Ecthesis of the emperor Heraclius, viii. 273.
Edda, of Iceland, the system of mythology in, i. 321.
Edecon, is sent from Attila king of the Huns, as his ambassador to the emperor Theodosius the younger, vi. 55. Engages in a proposal to assassinate Attila, 67. His son Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy, 183.
Edessa, the purest dialect of the Syriac language spoken there, i. 276. The property of the Christians there, confiscated by the emperor Julian, for the disorderly conduct

of the Arians, iv. 102. Revolt of the Roman troops there, viii. 170. Account of the ſchool of, 280. Hiſtory of the famous image there, ix. 5. The city and principality of ſeized by Baldwin the Cruſader, x. 291. Is retaken by Zenghi, 338. The counts of xi. 109.

Edict of Milan, publiſhed by Conſtantine the Great, iii. 194.

Edicts of the prætors of Rome, under the republic, their nature and tendency, viii. 9.

Edom, why that name was applied to the Roman empire by the Jews, ii. 319.

Edriſites, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 388.

Edward I. of England, his cruſade to the Holy Land, x. 375.

Egidius, his character, and revolt in Gaul, vi. 151. His ſon Syagrius, 294.

Egypt, general deſcription of, i. 33. The ſuperſtitions of, with difficulty tolerated at Rome, 43. Amount of its revenues, 212. Public works executed there by Probus, ii. 75. Conduct of Diocletian there, 111. Progreſs of Chriſtianity there, 300. Edict of the emperor Valens, to reſtrain the number of recluſe monks there, iv. 216. The worſhip of Serapis how introduced there, v. 91. This temple, and the Alexandrian library deſtroyed by biſhop Theophilus, 93. Origin of monkiſh inſtitutions in, vi. 195. Great ſupplies of wheat furniſhed by, for the city of Conſtantinople, in the time of Juſtinian, vii. 73. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of, viii. 296. Reduced by the Saracens, ix. 264. Capture of Alexandria, 270. Adminiſtration of, 277. Deſcription of, by Amrou, 278. The Egyptians take Jeruſalem from the Turks, x. 303. Egypt conquered by the Turks, 340. Government of the Mamalukes there, 374.

Elagabalus, is declared emperor by the troops at Emeſa, i. 190. Was the firſt Roman who wore garments of pure ſilk, vii. 76.

Elephants, inquiry into the numbers of, brought into the field by the ancient princes of the East, i. 278. With what view introduced in the circus at Rome in the firſt Punic war, ii. 86.

Eleuſinian myſteries, why tolerated by the emperor Valentinian, iv. 211.

Elizabeth, queen of England, the political uſe ſhe made of the national pulpits, iii. 237.

Emigration of the ancient northern nations, the nature and motives of, examined, i. 269.

Emperors of Rome, a review of their conſtitutions, viii. 11. Their legiſlative power, 13. Their reſcripts, 14.

——, of Germany, their limited powers, ix. 79.

——, of Conſtantinople, their pomp and luxury, x. 18. Officers of the palace, ſtate, and army, 24. Adoration of the emperor, mode of, 26. Their public appearance, 28. Their deſpotic power, 35. Their navy, 37. They retain the name of Romans to the laſt, 52.

Empire, Roman, diviſion of, into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* empires by Valentinian, iv. 193. Extinction of the Weſtern empire, vi. 182.

Encampment, Roman, deſcribed, i. 20.

Ennodius, the ſervile flatterer of Theodoric the Oſtrogoth king of Italy, is made biſhop of Pavia, vii. 14.

Epagathus, leader of the mutinous prætorians, who murdered their præfect Ulpian, puniſhed by the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 206.

Epheſus, the famous temple of Diana at, deſtroyed by the Goths, i. 356. Council of, viii. 238. Epiſcopal riots there, 241.

Epicurus, his legacy to his philoſophical diſciples at Athens, vii. 122.

Epirus, deſpots of, on the diſmemberment of the Greek empire, xi. 74.

Equitius, maſter general of the Illyrian frontier, is defeated by the Sarmatians, iv. 267.

Eraſmus, his merit as a reformer, x. 83.

Eſſenians, their diſtinguiſhing tenets and practices, ii. 299.

INDEX.

Euchariſt a knotty ſubject to the firſt reformers, x. 80.
Eudes, duke of Aquitain, repels the firſt Saracen invaſion of France, ix. 338. Implores the aid of Charles Martel, 341. Recovers his dukedom, 344.
Eudocia, her birth, character, and marriage, with the emperor Theodoſius the younger, v. 343. Her diſgrace and death, 347.
Eudoxia, her marriage with the emperor Arcadius, v. 123. Stimulates him to give up his favourite Eutropius, 319. Perſecutes St. Chryſoſtom, 329. Her death and character, 335.
Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodoſius the younger is betrothed to the young emperor Valentinian III. of the Weſt, vi. 6. Her character, 114. Is married to the emperor Maximus, 121. Invites Genſeric king of the Vandals to Italy, 122.
Eudoxus, biſhop of Conſtantinople, baptizes the emperor Valens, iv. 212.
Eugenius the Rhetorician is made emperor of the Weſt by Arbogaſtes the Frank, v. 66. Is defeated and killed by Theodoſius, 72.
Eugenius, IV. pope, his conteſt with the council of Baſil, xi, 329. Procures a re-union of the Latin and Greek churches, 344. Forms a league againſt the Turks, 379. Revolt of the Roman citizens againſt him, xii. 165.
Eumenius the Orator, ſome account of, ii. 150.
Eunapius the Sophiſt, his character of monks, and of the objects of their worſhip, v. 104.
Eunomians, puniſhment of, by the edict of the emperor Theodoſius againſt heretics, v. 27.
Eunuchs, enumerated in the liſt of Eaſtern commodities imported and taxed in the time of Alexander Severus, i. 216. They infeſt the palace of the third Gordian, 253. Their aſcendency in the court of Conſtantius, iii. 131. Why they favoured the Arians, 275. Procure the baniſhment of Liberius biſhop of Rome, 308. A conſpiracy of, diſappoint the ſchemes of Rufinus, and marry the emperor Arcadius to Eudoxia, v. 123. They

diſtract the court of the emperor Honorius, 247. And govern that of Arcadius, 307. Scheme of Chryſaphius to aſſaſſinate Attila king of the Huns, vi. 67.

Euric, king of the Viſigoths in Gaul, his conqueſts in Spain, vi. 168. Is veſted with all the Roman conqueſts beyond the Alps by Odoacer king of Italy, 246.

Europe, evidences that the climate of, was much colder in ancient than in modern times, i. 285. This alteration accounted for, 286. Final diviſion of, between the Weſtern and Eaſtern empires, v. 114. Is ravaged by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 42. Is now, one great republic, 327.

Euſebia, empreſs, wife of Conſtantius, her ſteady friendſhip to Julian, iii. 142. 144. Is accuſed of arts to deprive Julian of children, 148.

Euſebius, his character of the followers of Artemon, ii. 308. His own character, 401. His ſtory of the miraculous appearance of the croſs in the ſky to Conſtantine the Great, iii. 210.

Eutropius the Eunuch, great chamberlain to the emperor Arcadius, concerts his marriage with Eudoxia, in oppoſition to the views of Rufinus, v. 123. Succeeds Rufinus in the emperor's confidence, 133. His character and adminiſtration, 306. Provides for his own ſecurity, in a new law againſt treaſon, 313. Takes ſanctuary with St. Chryſoſtom, 319. His death, 320.

Eutyches, his opinion on the ſubject of the incarnation ſupported by the ſecond council at Epheſus, viii. 249. And adhered to by the Armenians, 294.

Euxine Sea, deſcription of the veſſels uſed in navigating i. 347.

Exaltation of the croſs, origin of the annual feſtival of, viii. 214.

Exarch, under the Greek empire, the office and rank of, ix. 35. Of Ravenna, the government of Italy ſettled in, and adminiſtered by, vii. 349. viii. 119.

Exciſe, duties impoſed by Auguſtus, i. 216.

INDEX.

Excommunication from Chriſtian communion, the origin of, ii. 286. iii. 234.
Exile, voluntary, under accuſation and conſcious guilt, its advantages among the Romans, viii. 84.

F.

Faith and its operations defined, ii. 260.
Falcandus, Hugo, character of his *Hiſtoria Sicula*, x. 190. His lamentation on the transfer of the ſovereignty of the iſland to the emperor Henry VI. 191.
Fathers of the Chriſtian church, cauſe of their auſtere morality, ii. 263.
Fauſta, empreſs, wife of Conſtantine the Great, cauſes of her being put to death, iii. 86.
Fauſtina, wife of Marcus Antoninus, her character, i. 110.
Fauſtina, the widow of the emperor Conſtantius, countenances the revolt of Procopius againſt the emperor Valens, iv. 198.
Felix, an African biſhop, his martyrdom, ii. 387.
Feſtivals, Pagan, great offence taken at, by the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 240.
Feudal government, the rudiments of, to be found among the Scythians, iii. 286.
Figures, numeral, occaſion of their firſt public and familiar uſe, ix. 328.
Finances of the Roman empire, when the ſeat of it was removed to Conſtantinople, reviewed, iii. 60.
Fingal, his queſtionable hiſtory, whether to be connected with the invaſion of Caledonia by the emperor Severus, i. 172.
Fire, Greek, the Saracen fleet deſtroyed by, in the harbour of Conſtantinople, ix. 331. Is long preſerved as a ſecret, 336. Its effects not to be compared with gunpowder, x. 40.
Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, his revolt againſt the emperor Aurelian, ii. 38.

INDEX.

Firmus the Moor, hiſtory of his revolt againſt the emperor Valentinian, iv. 243.
Flagellation, its efficacy in penance, and how proportioned, x. 254
Flamens, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, v. 79.
Flaminian way, its courſe deſcribed, vii. 336.
Flavian, archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, is killed at the ſecond council of Epheſus, viii. 250.
Fleece, golden, probable origin of the fable of, vii. 279.
Florence, the foundation of that city, v. 179.
Is beſieged by Radagaiſus, and relieved by Stilicho, 180.
Florentius, prætorian præfect of Gaul under Conſtantius his character, iii. 185. iv. 6. Is condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon, but ſuffered to eſcape by Julian, 39.
Florianus, brother of the emperor Tacitus, his eager uſurpation of the Imperial dignity, ii. 59.
Fœlix is conſecrated biſhop of Rome, to ſuperſede Liberius who was exiled, iii. 309. He is violently expelled, and his adherents ſlaughtered, 310.
Fornication, a doubtful plea for divorce, by goſpel authority, viii. 49.
France, modern, computation of the number of its inhabitants, and the average of their taxation, iii. 67. The name of, whence derived, vi. 285. Derivation of the French language, 293. Childeric depoſed and Pepin appointed king, by papal ſanction, ix. 34. Reign and character of Charlemagne, 51. Invaſion of, by the Saracens, 337.
Frangipani, Cencio, his profane violation of the perſons of pope Gelaſius II. and his college of cardinals, xii. 75. Derivation of his family name, 114.
Franks, their origin and confederacy, i. 338. They invade Gaul, and ravage Spain, 340. They paſs over into Africa, 341. Bold and ſucceſsful return of a colony

of, from the ſea of Pontus, by ſea, ii. 71. They over-run and eſtabliſh themſelves at Toxandria in Germany iii. 169. Their fidelity to the Roman government, v. 184. Origin of the Merovingian race of their kings, vi. 81. How converted to Chriſtianity, 217. Reign of their king Clovis, 247. Final eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 269. Their laws, 272. Give the name of *France* to their conqueſts in Gaul, 285. They degenerate into a ſtate of anarchy, 293. They invade Italy, vii. 214. 344. Their military character, x. 45.

Fravitta the Goth, his character, and deadly quarrel with his countryman Priulf, iv. 361. His operations againſt Gainas, v. 323.

Frederic I. emperor of Germany, his tyranny in Italy, ix. 77. Engages in the third cruſade, x. 325. His diſaſtrous expedition, 333. 355. Sacrifices Arnold of Breſcia to the pope, xii. 82. His reply to the Roman ambaſſadors, 95.

Frederic II. is driven out of Italy, ix. 78. His diſputes with the pope, and reluctant cruſade x. 366. Exhorts the European princes to unite in oppoſing the Tartars, xi. 218.

Frederic III. the laſt emperor crowned at Rome, xii. 166.

Freemen of Laconia, account of, x. 12.

Fritigern, the Gothic chief, extricates himſelf from the hands of Lupicinus, governor of Thrace, iv. 317. Defeats him, 318. Battle of Salices, 322. His ſtrength recruited by the acceſſion of new tribes, 324. Negociates with Valens, 331. Battle of Hadrianople, 332. The union of the Gothic tribes broken by his death, 352.

Freedmen, among the Romans, their rank in ſociety, viii. 38.

Frumentius was the firſt Chriſtian miſſionary in Abyſſinia, iii. 221.

Fulk of Neuilly, his ardour in preaching the fourth cruſade, xi. 17.

G.

Gabinius, king of the Quadi, is treacherously murdered by Marcellinus governor of Valeria, iv. 265.
Gaillard, M. character of his *Hiſtoire de Charlemagne*, ix. 51.
Gainas the Goth is commiſſioned by Stilicho to execute his revenge on Rufinus, præfect of the Eaſt, v. 131. His conduct in the war againſt the revolter Tribigild, 317. Joins him, 321. His flight and death, 323.
Gala, probable derivation of the term, x. 28.
Galata, the ſuburb of, at Conſtantinople, aſſigned to the Genoeſe, xi. 191.
Galerius is aſſociated in the adminiſtration, as Cæſar by the emperor Diocletian, ii. 98. Is defeated by the Perſians, 119. Surpriſes and overthrows Narſes, 121. Aſſumes the title of Auguſtus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 153. His jealouſy of Conſtantine, 158. Deems it prudent to acknowledge him Cæſar, 161. His unſucceſsful invaſion of Italy, 168. Inveſts Licinius with the purple on the death of Severus, 171. His death, 175. From what cauſes he entertained an averſion to the Chriſtians, 379. Obtains the countenance of Diocletian for perſecuting them, 380. Publiſhes an edict of toleration juſt before his death, 396.
Galilæans, twofold application of that name in the infancy of Chriſtianity, ii. 338. Why the emperor Julian applied this name to the Chriſtians, iv. 87.
Gallienus, ſon of the emperor Valerian, is aſſociated by him in the Imperial throne, i. 338. Prohibits the ſenators from exerciſing military employments, 344. Character of his adminiſtration after the captivity of his father, 364. Names Claudius for his ſucceſſor, ii. 4. Favoured the Chriſtians, 371.
Gallies of the Greek empire, deſcribed, x. 38.
Gallus elected emperor, on the minority of Hoſtilianus, the ſon of Decius, i. 333.

INDEX.

Gallus, nephew of Conſtantine the Great, his education, iii. 132. Is inveſted with the title of Cæſar, 134. His cruelty and imprudence, *ib.* His diſgrace and death 139. Embraced the doctrine, but neglected the precepts, of Chriſtianity, iv. 53. Converts the grove of Daphne at Antioch to a Chriſtian burial place, 96.

Games, public, of the Romans, deſcribed, i. 257. ii. 84. v. 233. Account of the factions of the circus, vii. 61.

Ganges, ſource of that river, xi. 262.

Gaudentius, the notary, is condemned to death under the emperor Julian, iv. 40.

Gaul, the province of, deſcribed, i. 25, The power of the Druids ſuppreſſed there by Tiberius and Claudius, 42. Cities in, 64. Amount of the tribute paid by that province to Rome, 212. Is defended againſt the Franks by Poſthumus, 340. Succeſſion of uſurpers there, ii. 25. Invaſion of, by the Lygians, 65. Revolt of the Bagaudæ ſuppreſſed by Maximian, 100. Progreſs of Chriſtianity there, 303. Proportion of the capitation tax levied there by the Roman emperors, iii. 66. Is invaded by the Germans, 168. The government of aſſigned to Julian, 170. His civil adminiſtration, 184. Is invaded by the Alemanni, under the emperor Valentinian, iv. 222. And under Gratian, 326. Deſtruction of idols and temples there, by Martin biſhop of Tours, v. 89. Is overrun by the barbarous troops of Radagaiſus, after his defeat by Stilicho, 186. Is ſettled by the Goths Burgundians, and Franks, 294. Aſſembly of the ſeven provinces in, 301. Reign of Theodoric king of the Viſigoths in, vi. 77. Origin of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks in, 81. Invaſion of, by Attila king of the Huns, 86. Battle of Chalons, 94. Revolutions of, on the death of the emperor Majorian, 168. Converſion of, to Chriſtianity by the Franks, 235. Repreſentation of the advantages it enjoyed under the Roman government, 244. Conqueſts and proſperity of Euric king of the Viſigoths, 246. Character and reign of

INDEX.

Clovis, 247. The Alemanni conquered, 251. Submiſſion of the Armoricans, and the Roman troops, 255. Final eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 269. Hiſtory of the Salic laws, 272. The lands of, how claimed and divided by the Barbarian conquerors of, 279. Domain and benefices of the Merovingian princes, 281. Uſurpations of the *Seniors*, 282. Privileges of the Romans in, 291.

Gedroſia, revolutions of the ſea coaſt of, i. 272.

Gelalæan æra of the Turks, when ſettled, x. 225.

Gelaſius, pope, his zeal againſt the celebration of the feaſt of Lupercalia, vi. 162. Deplores the miſerable decay of Italy, 191.

Gelaſius II. pope, his rough treatment by Cenſio Frangipani, xii. 75.

Gelimer depoſes Hilderic the Vandal king of Africa, and uſurps the government, vii. 131. Is defeated by Beliſarius, 148. His final defeat, 153. His diſtreſsful flight, 160. Surrenders himſelf to Beliſarius, 163. Graces his trimph, 165. His peaceful retirement, 166.

General of the Roman army, his extenſive power, i. 82.

Generoſity, Arabian, ſtriking inſtances of, ix. 99.

Gennadius, the monk, his denunciation againſt a Greek union with the Latin church, xii. 22.

Gennerid, the Roman general, under the emperor Honorius, his character, v. 246.

Genoeſe, their mercantile eſtabliſhment in the ſuburb of Pera at Conſtantinople, xi. 191. Their war with the emperor Cantacuzenus, 194.

Genſeric, king of the Vandals in Spain, his character, vi. 11. Goes over to Africa on the invitation of count Boniface, 12. His ſucceſſes there by the aſſiſtance of the Donatiſts, 15. Devaſtation of Africa by his troops, 16. Beſieges Boniface in Hippo Regius, 18. His treacherous ſurpriſal of Carthage, 22. Strengthens himſelf by an alliance with Attila king of the Huns, 40. Brutal treatment of his ſon's wife, daughter of Theodoric, 80. Raiſes a naval force, and invades Italy, 118.

His ſack of Rome, 123. Deſtroys the fleet of Majorian, 148. His naval depredations on Italy, 152. His claims on the Eaſtern empire, 154. Deſtroys the Roman fleet under Baſilicus, 166. Was an Arian, and perſecuted his Catholic ſubjects, 224.

Gentleman, etymology of the term, x. 268.

Geoponics of the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, account of, x. 2.

George of Cappadocia ſuperſedes Athanaſius in the ſee of Alexandria, iii. 300. His ſcandalous hiſtory, and tragical death, iv. 99. Becomes the tutelar ſaint of England, 102.

Gepidæ, their incroachments on the Eaſtern empire checked by the Lombards, vii. 237. Are reduced by them, viii. 96.

Germanus, nephew of the emperor Juſtinian, his character and promotion to the command of the army ſent to Italy, vii. 332. His death, 333.

Germany, the rude inſtitutions of that country the original principles of European laws and manners, i. 283. Its ancient extent, 284. How peopled, 287. The natives unacquainted with letters in the time of Tacitus, 289. Had no cities, 290. Manners of the ancient Germans, 293. Population, 295. State of liberty among them, *ib.* Authority of their magiſtrates, 299. Conjugal faith and chaſtity, 302. Their religion 306. Arms and diſcipline, 309. Their feuds, 312. General idea of the German tribes, 315. Probus carries the Roman arms into Germany, ii. 67. A frontier wall built by Probus, from the Rhine to the Danube, 68. Invaſions of Gaul by the Germans, iii. 168. iv. 222. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 57. The Imperial crown eſtabliſhed in the name and nation of Germany, by the firſt Otho, 65. Diviſion of, among the independent princes, 79. Formation of the Germanic conſtitution, 81. State aſſumed by the emperor, 85.

Gerontius, count, ſets up Maximus as emperor in Spain, and loſes his life in the attempt, v. 279.

INDEX.

Geta and Caracalla, ſons of the emperor Severus, their fixed antipathy to each other, i. 169.
Ghebers of Perſia, hiſtory of, ix. 315.
Gibraltar, derivation of the name of, ix. 299.
Gildo the Moor, his revolt in Africa, v. 137. His defeat and death, 141.
Gladiators, deſperate enterprize and fate of a party of, reſerved for the triumph of Probus, ii. 74. The combats of, aboliſhed by the emperor Honorius, v. 170.
Glycerius is firſt emperor of Rome, and then biſhop of Salona, vi. 179. Murders Julius Nepos, and is made archbiſhop of Milan, 180.
Gnoſtics, character and account of the ſect of, ii. 232. Principal ſects into which they divided, 236. Their peculiar tenets, iii. 251. viii. 220.
Godfrey of Bouillon, his character, and engagement in the firſt cruſade, x. 264. His route to Conſtantinople, 272. 277. Is elected king of Jeruſalem, 311. Compiles the Aſſize of Jeruſalem, 315. Form of his adminiſtration, 317.
Gog and Magog, the famous rampart of, deſcribed vii. 117.
Goiſvintha, wife of Leovigild, king of Spain, her pious cruelty to the princeſs Ingundis, vi. 236.
Gold of affliction, the tax ſo denominated in the Eaſtern empire aboliſhed by the emperor Anaſtaſius, vii. 83.
Golden horn, why the Boſphorus obtained this appellation in remote antiquity, ii. 6.
Gordianus, proconſul of Africa, his character and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 233. His ſon aſſociated with him in the imperial dignity, 234.
Gordian, the third and youngeſt, declared Cæſar, i. 242. Is declared emperor by the army, on the murder of Maximus and Balbinus, 252.
Goths of Scandinavia, their origin, i. 319. Their religion, 320. The Goths and Vandals ſuppoſed to be originally one great people, 323. Their emigrations to Pruſſia

and the Ukraine, *ibid.* They invade the Roman provinces, 326. They receive tribute from the Romans, 334. They ſubdue the Boſphorus, 347. Plunder the cities of Bithynia, 350. They ravage Greece, 354. Conclude a treaty with the emperor Aurelian, ii. 16. They ravage Illyricum, and are chaſtiſed by Conſtantine the Great, 209. Their war with the Sarmatians, iii. 93. Are again routed by Conſtantine, 94. Gothic war under the emperórs Valentinian and Valens, iv. 259. Are defeated by the Huns, 303. They implore the protection of the emperor Valens, 307. They are received into the empire, 309. They are oppreſſed by the Roman governors of Thrace, 312. Are provoked to hoſtilities, and defeat Lupicinus, 316. They ravage Thrace, 318. Battle of Salices, 322. They are ſtrengthened by freſh ſwarms of their countrymen, 323. Battle of Hadrianople, 332. Scour the country from Hadrianople to Conſtantinople, 338. Maſſacre of the Gothic youth in Aſia, 341. Their formidable union broken by the death of Fritigern, 352. Death and funeral of Athanaric, 353. Invaſion and defeat of the Oſtrogoths, 355. Are ſettled in Thrace by Theodoſius, 358. Their hoſtile ſentiments, 360. Revolt of the Goths under Honorius, v. 147. They ravage Greece, under the command of Alaric, 149. They invade Italy, 158. The ſack of Rome by, 254. Death of Alaric, 269. Victories of Wallia, in Spain, 292. They are ſettled in Aquitain, 293. See *Gaul*, and *Theodoric*. Conqueſt of the Viſigoths in Gaul and Spain, vi. 168. How the Goths were converted to the Chriſtian religion, 214. 238. Reign of Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths, vii. 2. The Goths, in Italy, extinguiſhed, 350.

Government, civil, the origin of, i. 298.

Governors of provinces, under the emperors, their great power and influence, iii. 40.

Gratian was the firſt emperor who refuſed the pontifical robe, iii. 325. Marries the princeſs Conſtantia, and ſucceeds to the empire, iv. 271. Defeats the Alemanni

in Gaul, 327. Inveſts Theodoſius with the empire of the Eaſt, 343. His character and conduct, v. 1. His flight from Maximus, and death, 7. Overthrew the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Paganiſm, 81.

Greece, is ravaged by the Goths, i. 354. Is overrun by Alaric the Goth, v. 149. Is reduced by the Turks, xii. 58.

Greek church, origin of the ſchiſm of, xi. 1. 344. 371.

Greek empire. See *Conſtantinople.*

Greeks, why averſe to the Roman language and manners, i. 50. The Greek becomes a ſcientific language among the Romans, 51. Character of the Greek language of Conſtantinople, xi. 347. When firſt taught in Italy, 355.

Greek learning, revival of, in Italy, xi. 350.

Gregory the Great, pope, his pious preſents to Recared king of Spain, vi. 240. Exhorts Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards to propagate the Nicene faith, *ib.* His enmity to the venerable buildings and learning of Rome, viii. 131. His birth and early profeſſion, 133. His elevation to the pontificate, 134. Sends a miſſion to convert the Britons, 136. Sanctifies the uſurpation of the emperor Phocas, 175.

Gregory II. pope, his epiſtles to Leo III. emperor of Conſtantinople, ix. 18. Revolts againſt the Greek emperor, 24.

Gregory VII. pope, his ambitious ſchemes, ix. 71. His conteſt with the emperor Henry III. x. 171. His retreat to Salerno, 173. xii. 74.

Gregory, præfect of Africa, hiſtory of him and his daughter, ix. 282.

Gregory Nazianzen, his lamentation on the diſgraceful diſcord among Chriſtians, iii. 320. Loads the memory of the emperor Julian with invective, iv. 51. Cenſures Conſtantius for having ſpared his life, 64. Is preſented to the wretched ſee of Saſima, by his friend archbiſhop Baſil, v. 16. His miſſion to Conſtantinople, 17. Is

placed on the archiepiſcopal throne by Theodoſius, 19. His reſignation and character, 24.

Grumbates, king of the Chionites, attends Sapor king of Perſia, in his invaſion of Meſopotamia, iii. 160. Loſes his ſon at the ſiege of Amida, 162. Returns home in grief, 165.

Guardianship, how veſted and exerciſed, according to the Roman civil laws, viii. 52.

Gubazes, king of Colchos, his alliance with Choſroes king of Perſia, vii. 285. Returns to his former connexion with the emperor Juſtinian, 287. Is treacherouſly, killed, 292.

Guelphs and Ghibelines, the parties of, in Italy, ix. 78. xii. 118.

Guilt, the degrees of, in the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 77.

Guiſcard, *Robert*, his birth and character, x. 146. Acquires the dukedom of Apulia, 150. His Italian conqueſts, 152. Beſieges Durazzo, 160. Defeats the Greek emperor Alexius there, 166. Engages in the cauſe of pope Gregory VII. 172. His ſecond expedition to Greece, and death, 174.

Gundobald, king of the Burgundians, is reduced by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 259. His mode of juſtifying the judicial combat, 278.

Gunpowder, the invention and uſe of, xi. 302.

Guy of Luſignan, king of Jeruſalem, his character, x. 349. Is defeated and taken priſoner by Saladin, 350.

Gyarus, a ſmall iſland in the Ægean ſea, an inſtance of its poverty, i. 213.

H

Hadrian, emperor, relinquiſhes the eaſtern conqueſts of Trajan, i. 9. Their characters compared, 10. His character contraſted with that of Antoninus Pius. *ib.* His ſeveral adoptions of ſucceſſors, 100. Founds the

city of Ælia Capitolina on mount Sion, ii. 230. Reforms the laws of Rome in the perpetual edict, viii. 11.

Hadrianople, battle of between Conſtantine the Great, and Licinius, ii. 213. Is ineffectually beſieged by Fritigern the Goth, iv. 319. Battle of, between the emperor Valens and the Goths, 332.

Hakem, caliph of the Saracens, aſſumes a divine character to ſupplant the Mahometan faith, x. 235.

Hamadanites, the Saracen dynaſty of, in Meſopotamia, ix. 390.

Hannibal, review of the ſtate of Rome when he beſieged that city, v. 212.

Hannibalianus, nephew of Conſtantine the Great, is dignified with the title of king, iii. 88. Provinces aſſigned to him for a kingdom, 89. Is cruelly deſtroyed by Conſtantius, 101.

Happineſs, inſtance how little it depends on power and magnificence, ix. 353.

Harmozan, the Perſian ſatrap, his interview with the caliph Omar, ix. 218.

Harpies, in ancient mythologic hiſtory, Le Clerc's conjecture concerning, iii. 5.

Harun al Raſhid, caliph, his friendly correſpondence with the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 60. His wars with the Greek empire, 364.

Haſſan, the Saracen, conquers Carthage, ix. 291.

Hawking, the art and ſport of, introduced into Italy, by the Lombards, viii. 124.

Hegira, the æra of, how fixed, ix. 144.

Helena, the mother of Conſtantine, her parentage aſcertained, ii. 157. Was converted to Chriſtianity by her ſon, iii. 193.

Helena, ſiſter of the emperor Conſtantius, married to Julian, iii. 145. Is reported to be deprived of children by the arts of the empreſs Euſebia, 148. Her death, iv. 16.

Heliopolis taken by the Saracens, ix. 243.

Hell, according to Mahomet, deſcribed, ix. 135.
Helleſpont deſcribed, ii. 7.
Helvetia, amount of its population in the time of Cæſar, i. 295.
Hengiſt, his arrival in Britain, with ſuccours for Vortigern, againſt the Caledonians, vi. 301. His eſtabliſhment in Kent, 302. 305.
Henoticon of the emperor Zeno, character of, viii. 275.
Henry ſucceeds his brother Baldwin as emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 81. His character and adminiſtration, 83.
Henry III. emperor, his conteſt with pope Gregory VII. x. 171. Takes Rome, and ſets up pope Clement III. 172.
Henry VI. emperor, conquers and pillages the iſland of Sicily, x. 193.
Henry the fowler, emperor of Germany, defeats the Turkiſh invaders, x. 102.
Heptarchy, Saxon, eſtabliſhment of, in Britain, vi. 302. review of the ſtate of, 313.
Heraclian, count of Africa, retains that province in obedience to Honorius, v. 253. His cruel uſage of the refugees from the ſack of Rome by Alaric, 263. His revolt and death, 277.
Heracleonas, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 319.
Heraclius, depoſes the Eaſtern uſurper Phocas, and is choſen emperor, viii. 179. Conqueſts of Choſroes II. king of Perſia, 183. His diſtreſsful ſituation, 188. Accepts an ignominious peace from Choſroes, 191. His firſt expedition againſt the Perſians, 194. His ſecond Perſian expedition, 197. Strengthens himſelf by an alliance with the Turks, 204. His third Perſian expedition, 206. His treaty of peace with Perſia, 212. His triumph and pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, 214. His theological inquiries, 272. Marries, his niece Martina, viii. 317. Leaves

Leaves his two ſons joint ſucceſſors to the empire, 318. Invaſion of his provinces by the Saracens, ix. 229. Flies from Syria, 257.

Heraclius the præfect, his expedition againſt the Vandals in Africa, vi. 162.

Heraclius the eunuch, inſtigates the emperor Valentinian III. to the murder of the patrician Ætius, vi. 112. His death, 115.

Herbelot, character of his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, ix. 209.

Hercynian foreſt, the extent of, unknown in the time of Cæſar, i. 286.

Hereſy in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 235. Edict of Conſtantine the Great, againſt, iii. 242.

Hermanric king of the Oſtrogoths, his conqueſts, iv. 257. His death, 304.

Hermenegild prince of Boetica, his marriage with Ingundis princeſs of Auſtraſia, and converſion to the Nicene faith, vi. 236. Revolt and death, 237.

Hermits of the Eaſt, their mortified courſe of life, vi. 210. Miracles performed by them and their relics, 212.

Hermodorus, the Epheſian, aſſiſts the Romans in compiling their twelve tables of laws, viii. 4.

Hermogenes, maſter general of the cavalry, is killed in the attempt to baniſh Paul, biſhop of Conſtantinople, iii. 311.

Hero and Leander, the ſtory of, by whom controverted and defended, iii. 7.

Herodian, his life of Alexander Severus, why preferable to that in the Auguſtan hiſtory, i. 209.

Herodes Atticus, his extraordinary fortune and munificence, i. 59.

Herodotus, his character of the Perſian worſhip, i. 266.

Heruli, of Germany and Poland; their character, vii. 18.

Hilarion, the monk of Paleſtine, account of, vi. 197.

Hilary, biſhop of Poitiers, his remarkable obſervations on the diverſity of Chriſtian doctrines, iii. 265. His expoſition of the term Homoiouſion, 268.

Hilary, pope, cenſures the emperor Anthemius for his tolerating principles, vi. 160.

Hilderic the Vandal king of Africa, his indulgence to his Catholic ſubjects diſpleaſes both the Arians and Athanaſians, vii. 130. Is depoſed by Gelimer, 131. Is put to death, 149.

Hindoos of the Eaſt, not the diſciples of Zoroaſter, ix. 315.

Hindoſtan, conqueſt of, by Tamerlane, xi. 260.

Hippo Regius, ſiege of, by Genſeric king of the Vandals, vi. 18.

Hiſtory, the principal ſubjects of, i. 315.

Holy war, the juſtice of it inquired into, x. 249.

Homicide, how commuted by the Salic laws, vi. 274.

Homoouſion, origin, and uſe of that term at the council of Nice, iii. 262. And Homoiouſion, the diſtinction between, 268.

Honain, war of, ix. 161.

Honoratus, archbiſhop of Milan, is, with his clergy, driven from his ſee, by the Lombards, viii. 102.

Honoria, princeſs, ſiſter of the emperor Valentinian III. her hiſtory, vi. 84.

Honorius, ſon of Theodoſius the Great, is declared emperor of the Weſt, by his dying father, v. 73. Marries Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, 144. His character, 145. Flies from Milan on the invaſion of Italy by Alaric, 162. His triumphant entry into Rome, 169. Aboliſhes the combats of gladiators, 170. Fixes his reſidence at Ravenna, 172. Orders the death of Stilicho 199. His impolitic meaſures, and cruelty unite his barbarian ſoldiers againſt him under Alaric, 209. His councils diſtracted by the eunuchs, 247. His abject overtures to Attalus and Alaric, 251. His laſt acts, and death, 278. His triumph for the reduction of Spain by Wallia the Goth, 293. Is ſuſpected of inceſt with his ſiſter

INDEX.

Placidia, vi. 2. His perſecution of the Donatiſts in Africa, 13.

Honour, the new ranks of, introduced in the city of Conſtantinople, ii. 24. x. 22.

Hormiſdas, a fugitive Perſian prince, in the court of the emperor Conſtantius, his remarks on the city of Rome, iii. 363. His hiſtory, and ſtation under Julian, iv. 128.

Hormouz, the ſon of Choſroes, king of Perſia, his acceſſion, viii. 146. His character, 147. Is depoſed, and at length killed, 152.

Horſes, of Arabia, their peculiar qualities, ix. 92.

Hoſein, the ſon of Ali, his tragical death, ix. 191.

Hoſpitallers, knights, of St. John of Jeruſalem, popularity and character of the order of, x. 315.

Hoſtilianus, the minor ſon of the emperor Decius, elected emperor, under the guardianſhip of Gallus, i. 333.

Hugh, king of Burgundy, his marriage with Marozia, and expulſion from Rome by Alberic, ix. 72.

Hugh, count of Vermandois, engages in the firſt cruſade, x. 265. Is ſhipwrecked and made captive by the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, 276. His return, 298.

Human nature, its natural propenſities, ii. 263.

Hume, Mr. his natural hiſtory of religion, the beſt commentary on the polytheiſm of the ancients, i. 382. His difficulty, as to the extent of the Imperial palace at Rome, reſolved, 403. Charges the moſt refined and philoſophic ſects with intolerancy, 417.

Hungary, eſtabliſhment of the Huns in, vi. 30. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 58. Terror excited by their firſt approach to Europe, x. 92. Their character, 95.

Huniades, John, his exploits againſt the Turks, xi. 381. His defence of Belgrade, and death, 390.

Hunneric, the ſon of Genſeric, king of the Vandals, perſecutes his Catholic ſubjects, vi. 224. His cruelty to the Catholics of Tipaſa, 234.

Huns, their original ſeat, and their conqueſts, iv. 290.

Their decline, 294. Their emigrations, 297. Their victories over the Goths, 303. 305. They drive other barbarous tribes before them, upon the Roman provinces, v. 176. Their eſtabliſhment in Hungary, vi. 30. Character of their king Attila, 33. Their invaſion of Perſia, 38. The empire of, extinguiſhed by the death of Attila, 110.

Hunting of wild beaſts, when a virtue, and when a vice, i. 123. Is the ſchool of war, iv. 284.

Hypatia, the female philoſopher, murdered in the church at Alexandria, viii. 233.

Hypatius, ſedition of, at Conſtantinople, vii. 70.

I and J.

Jacobites, of the Eaſt, hiſtory of the ſect of, viii. 288.

James, St. his legendary exploits in Spain, ii. 304.

Janizaries, firſt inſtitution of thoſe troops, xi. 238.

Iberian and Caſpian gates of mount Caucaſus, diſtinguiſhed, vii. 117. The Iberian gates occupied by Cabades king of Perſia, *ibid.*

Idatius, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, v. 288.

Idolatry aſcribed to the agency of dæmons, by the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 237. Derivation of the term, and its ſucceſſive applications, iii. 402.

Jerom, his extravagant repreſentation of the devaſtation of Pannonia by the Goths, iv. 340. His influence over the widow Paula, vi. 200.

Jeruſalem, its ſituation, deſtruction, and profanation, iv. 80. Pilgrimages to, and curious relics preſerved there 81. Abortive attempt of the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple, 83. A magnificent church erected there to the Virgin Mary by Juſtinian, vii. 102. The veſſels of the temple brought from Africa to Conſtantinople by Beliſarius, 165. Is conquered by Choſroes II. king of Perſia, viii. 183. Inſurrection of the monks there, 256. The city conquered by the Saracens, ix. 249. Great

resort of pilgrims to, x. 232. Conqueſt of by the Turks, 238. Is taken from the Turks by the Egyptians, x. 303. Is taken by the cruſaders, 309. Is erected into a kingdom under Godfrey of Bouillon 311. Succeſſion of its Chriſtian princes, 348. Is pillaged by Jethe Carizmians, 370.

ruſalem, New, deſcribed according to the ideas of the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 249.

Jeſuits, Portugueſe, perſecute the Eaſtern Chriſtians, viii. 287. Their labours in, and expulſion from Abyſſinia, 307.

Jews, an obſcure, unſocial, obſtinate race of men, ii. 221. Review of their hiſtory, 223. Their religion the baſis of Chriſtianity, 226. The promiſes of divine favour extended by Chriſtianity to all mankind, 227. The immortality of the ſoul not inculcated in the law of Moſes, 246. Why there are no Hebrew goſpels extant, 295. Provoked the perſecutions of the Roman emperors, 317.

Jews, thoſe of a more liberal ſpirit adopted the theological ſyſtem of Plato, iii. 249. Their condition under the emperors Conſtantine and Conſtantius, iv. 79. Abortive attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, 83. Miraculous converſion of a number of, at Minorca, v. 373. Perſecution of, in Spain, vi. 240. Are perſecuted by the Catholics in Italy, vii. 33. And by Cyril at Alexandria, viii. 231. How plagued by the emperor Juſtinian, 266. Thoſe in Arabia ſubdued by Mahomet, ix. 155. Aſſiſt the Saracens in the reduction of Spain, 302. Maſſacres of, by the firſt cruſaders, x. 260.

Jezdegerd, king of Perſia, is ſaid to be left guardian to Theodoſius the younger, by the emperor Arcadius, v. 336. His war with Theodoſius, 347.

Igilium, the ſmall iſland of, ſerves as a place of refuge for Romans who flew from the ſack of Rome by Alaric, v. 262.

INDEX.

Ignatius, biſhop of Antioch the Chriſtian fortitude diſplayed in his epiſtles, ii. 359.
Ikshidites, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 390.
Illuſtrious, the title of, how limited in the times of Roman ſimplicity, and how extended when Conſtantinople became the ſeat of empire, iii. 24.
Illyricum deſcribed, i. 28.
Images, introduction of, into the Chriſtian church, ix. 1. The worſhip of, derived from Paganiſm, 4. Are condemned by the council of Conſtantinople, 12. The adoration of, juſtified by pope Gregory II. 19. And ſanctified by the ſecond council of Nice, 43.
Imperator, in the Roman hiſtory, explained, i. 389. The Imperial prerogatives, 87. The court, 90. The ſenſe of this appellation altered by long uſe, ii. 134.
Incarnation, theological hiſtory of the doctrine of, viii. 216.
Inceſt, natural, and arbitrary, diſtinguiſhed, viii. 50.
India, account of the Chriſtians of St. Thomas in, viii. 285. Perſecution of, by the Portugueſe, 286.
Indictions, the memorable æra of, whence dated, ii. 434. The name and uſe of, in the middle ages, whence derived, iii 61.
Indulgences in the Romiſh church, the nature of, explained, x. 253.
Ingundis, princeſs of Auſtraſia, is married to Hermenegild prince of Boetica, and cruelly treated by his mother Goiſvintha, vi. 236.
Inheritance, paternal, ſubject to parental diſcretion among the Romans, i. 217. The Roman law of, viii. 57. Teſtamentary diſpoſitions of property, 60. The Voconian law, how evaded, 63.
Injuries, review of the Roman laws for the redreſs of, viii. 68.
Innocent III. pope, enjoyed the plenitude of papal power, x. 364.
Inquiſition, the firſt erection of that tribunal, x. 365.
Inſtitutes of Juſtinian, an analyſis of, viii. 35.

Intereſt of money, how regulated by the Roman laws, viii. 67.
Joan, pope, the ſtory of, fictitious, ix. 70.
John, principal ſecretary to the emperor Honorius, uſurps the empire after his death, vi. 3.
John the almſgiver, archbiſhop of Alexandria, relieves the Jewiſh refugees when Jeruſalem was taken by the Perſians, viii. 184. His extraordinary liberality of the church-treaſure, 298.
John, biſhop of Antioch, arrives at Epheſus after the meeting of the council, and, with his biſhops, decides againſt Cyril, viii. 241. Coalition between him and Cyril, 242.
John of Apri, patriarch of Conſtantinople, his pride, and confederacy againſt John Cantacuzene, xi. 177.
John of Brienne emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 90.
John of Cappadocia, prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, under the emperor Juſtinian, his character, vii. 90. Is diſgraced by the empreſs Theodora, and becomes a biſhop, 92. Oppoſes the African war, 133. His fraud in ſupplying the army with bread, 142.
John Comnenus emperor of Conſtantinople, ix. 397.
John Damaſcenus, St. his hiſtory, ix. 16.
John of Lycopolis, the hermit, his character and oracular promiſe to the emperor Theodoſius the Great, v. 68.
John, the Monophyſite biſhop of Aſia, is employed by the emperor Juſtinian to root out Pagans and heretics, viii. 265.
John XII. pope, his flagitious character, ix. 70.
John XXIII. pope, his profligate character, xii. 163.
John, St. the evangeliſt, reveals the true ſenſe of Plato's doctrine of the *Logos*, iii. 250.
John the Sanguinary, ſeizes the Gothic treaſures in Picenum, and obliges Vitiges to raiſe the ſiege of Rome, vii. 209.
John Zimiſces, murders the Greek emperor Nicephorus, and ſucceeds him, viii. 375. His Eaſtern victories, ix. 395. Defeats Swatoſlaus, czar of Ruſſia, x. 118.

INDEX.

Iona, one of the Hebride iſlands, its ancient monaſtic eminence, vi. 198.
Jonas, renegado of Damaſcus, ſtory of, ix. 239.
Jordan, character of his work, *De Originibus Sclavicis*, x. 87.
Joſeph the Carizmian, governor of Berzem, kills the ſultan Alp Arſlan, x. 220.
Joſephus, the mention of Jeſus Chriſt in his hiſtory, a forgery, ii. 336. His opinion, that Plato derived knowledge from the Jews, controverted, iii. 248.
Jovian is elected emperor by the troops of Julian, on their retreat from Aſſyria, iv. 164. His treaty with Sapor king of Perſia, 168. His death, 186.
Jovians and Herculians, new bodies of guards inſtituted to ſuperſede the Prætorian bands, ii. 133.
Jovinian of Verona, his puniſhment by a Roman ſynod, for hereſy, v. 159.
Jovinus reduces the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, iv. 224. Account of his revolt againſt the emperor Honorius in Germany, v. 284.
Jovius, prætorian præfect under the emperor Honorius, ſucceeds Olympius as his confidential miniſter, v. 245. His negociations with Alaric obſtructed, 248. Deſerts Honorius, and goes over to Alaric, and the new emperor Attalus, 252.
Irene, her marriage with the Greek emperor Leo, viii. 340. Her ambition, and barbarity to her ſon Conſtantine, *ib.* Reſtores images to public devotion, ix. 42.
Ireland was firſt coloniſed from Scotland, iv. 236. Derivation of the name of its tutelar ſaint, Patrick, vi. 187.
Iſaac I. *Comnenus*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 384.
Iſaac II. *Angelus*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 420. His character and reign, xi 12. Is depoſed by his brother Alexius, 15. Is reſtored by the cruſaders, 42. His death, 49.
Iſaac, archbiſhop of Armenia, his apology for the vices of king Artaſires, v. 351.
Iſauria, the rebellion there againſt the emperor Gallienus, i. 373.

INDEX.

Iſaurians, reduction of, by the Eaſtern emperors, viii. 108.
Iſidore, cardinal, his ill treatment in Ruſſia, xi. 374. Receives an act of union from the Greek clergy at Conſtantinople, xii. 21.
Iſocrates, his price for the tuition of his pupils, vii. 122.
Italy, the dominion of, under Odoacer, ſucceeds the extinction of the Weſtern empire, vi. 183. Its miſerable ſtate at this æra, 191. Converſion of the Lombards of, to the Nicene faith, 240. Is reduced by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, vii. 13. His adminiſtration, 15. Government of, according to the Roman law, by Theodoric, 22. Its flouriſhing ſtate at this time, 27. How ſupplied with ſilk from China, 75. Hiſtory of Amalaſontha, queen of Italy, 175. Invaſion of, by Beliſarius, 185. Siege of Rome by the Goths, 191. Invaſion of Italy by the Franks, 214. Revolt of the Goths, 308. Expedition of the eunuch Narſes, 333. Invaſion of, by the Franks and Alemanni, 344. Government of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 349. Conqueſts of Alboin king of the Lombards in, viii. 101. Diſtreſs of, 115. How divided between the Lombards, and the exarchs of Ravenna, 119. Growth of the papal power in, ix. 16. Revolt of, againſt the Greek emperors, 22. The exarchate of Ravenna granted to the pope, 37. Extent of the dominion of Charlemagne there, 56. The power of the German Cæſars deſtroyed by the riſe of the commercial cities there, 75. Factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, 78. Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in, x. 127. Revival of Greek learning in, xi. 350. Authors conſulted for the hiſtory of, xii. 177.
Jubilee, popiſh, a revival of the ſecular games, i. 257. xii. 109. The return of, accelerated, 111.
Jude, St. examination of his grandſons before the tribunal of the procurator of Judæa, ii. 340.
Judgments of God, in the Salic laws, how determined, vi. 276.
Judgments, popular, of the Romans, diſplayed, viii. 81.

INDEX.

Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus, her character, i. 169. Her death, 187.

Julian, the nephew of Conſtantine the Great, his education, iii. 132. His dangerous ſituation on the death of his brother Gallus, 141. Is ſent to Athens, where he cultivates philoſophy, 143. Is recalled by Conſtantius, 145. Is inveſted with the title of Cæſar, 147. Is appointed to the government of Gaul, 170. His firſt campaign, 172. Battle of Strasburgh, 175. Reduces the Franks at Toxandria, 178. His three expeditions beyond the Rhine, 181. Reſtores the cities of Gaul, 183. His civil adminiſtration, 184. His account of the theological calamities of the empire under Conſtantius, 315. Conſtantius grows jealous of him, iv. 3. The Gauliſh legions are ordered into the Eaſt, *ib.* Is ſaluted emperor by the troops, 8. His embaſſy and epiſtle to Conſtantius, 12. His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 14. Declares war againſt Conſtantius, and abjures the Chriſtian religion, 16. His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, 21. Enters Sirmium, 24. Publiſhes apologies for his conduct, *ib.* His triumphant entry into Conſtantinople on the death of Conſtantius, 30. His private life and civil government, 31. His reformations in the Imperial palace, 34. Becomes a ſloven to avoid foppery, 37. Erects a tribunal for the trial of the evil miniſters of Conſtantius, *ib.* Diſmiſſes the ſpies and informers employed by his predeceſſor, 41. His love of freedom and the republic, 42. His kindneſſes to the Grecian cities, 45 His abilities as an orator, 46. And as a judge, 47. His character, 48. His apoſtacy accounted for, 52. Adopts the Pagan mythology, 54. His theological ſyſtem, 58. His initiation into the Eleuſinian myſteries, and his fanaticiſm, 60. His hypocritical duplicity, 63. Writes a vindication of his apoſtacy, 65. His edict for a general toleration, 66. His pagan ſuperſtitious zeal, 69. His circular letters for the reformation of the Pagan religion, 71. His induſtry in gaining proſelytes, 76. His

addreſs to the Jews, 79. Hiſtory of his attempt to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem, 83. Transfers the revenues of the Chriſtian church, to the heathen prieſts, 88. Prohibits Chriſtian ſchools, 89. Obliges the Chriſtians to reinſtate the Pagan temples, 92. Reſtores the ſacred grove and temple of Daphne, 94. Puniſhes the Chriſtians of Antioch for burning that temple, 98. His treatment of the cities of Edeſſa and Alexandria, 102. Baniſhes Athanaſius, 105. The philoſophical fable of his *Cæſars*, delineated, 110. Meditates the conqueſt of Perſia, 112. Popular diſcontents during his reſidence at Antioch, 115. Occaſion of writing his *Miſopogon*, 118. His march to the Euphrates, 121. He enters the Perſian territories, 127. Invades Aſſyria, 133. His perſonal conduct in this enterprize, 138. His addreſs to his diſcontented troops, 140. His ſucceſsful paſſage over the Tigris, 144. Burns his fleet, 150. His retreat and diſtreſs, 155. His death, 159. His funeral, 179.

Julian, count, offers to betray Spain into the hands of the Arabs, ix. 296. His advice to the victorious Turks, 301.

Julian, the papal legate, exhorts Ladiſlaus king of Hungary and Poland to a breach of faith with the Turks, xi. 383. His death and character, 387.

Julius, maſter-general of the troops in the Eaſtern empire, concerts a general maſſacre of the Gothic youth in Aſia. iv. 342.

Juriſprudence, Roman, a review of, viii. 1. Was poliſhed by Grecian philoſophy, 19. Abuſes of, 85.

Juſtin the Elder, his military promotion, vii. 44. His elevation to the empire, and character, 45. His death, 50.

Juſtin II. emperor, ſucceeds his uncle Juſtinian, viii. 89. His firm behaviour to the ambaſſadors of the Avars, 90. His abdication, and inveſtiture of Tiberius, as his ſucceſſor, 109.

Juſtin Martyr, his deciſion in the caſe of the Ebionites,

ii. 232. His extravagant account of the progreſs of Chriſtianity, 304. Occaſion of his own converſion, 307.

Juſtina, the popular ſtory of her marriage with the emperor Valentinian examined, iv. 270. Her infant ſon Valentinian II. inveſted with the imperial enſigns, on the death of his father, 271. Her conteſt with Ambroſe archbiſhop of Milan, v. 33. Flies from the invaſion of Maximus, with her ſon, 41.

Juſtinian, emperor of the Eaſt, his birth and promotion, vii. 44. His orthodoxy, 48. viii. 268. Is inveſted with the diadem by his uncle Juſtin, vii. 49. Marries Theodora, 55. Patronizes the blue faction of the circus, 64. State of agriculture and manufacture in his provinces, 73. Introduces the culture of the ſilk worm, and manufacture of ſilk, into Greece, 80. State of his revenue, 83. His avarice and profuſion, 84. Taxes and monopolies, 86. His miniſters, 90. His public buildings, 93. Founds the church of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople, 96. His other public works, 101. His European fortifications, 104. His Aſiatic fortifications, 110. He ſuppreſſes the ſchools of Athens, 123. And the conſular dignity, 126. Purchaſes a peace from the Perſians, 130. 266. Undertakes to reſtore Hilderic king of Carthage, 132. Reduction of Africa, 158. His inſtructions for the government of, 159. His acquiſitions in Spain, 172. His deceitful negociations in Italy, 179. Weakneſs of his empire, 234. Receives an embaſſy from the Avars, 252. And from the Turks, 254. Perſian war, 273. His negociations with Choſroes, 293. His alliance with the Abyſſinians, 298. Neglects the Italian war under Beliſarius, 317. Settles the government of Italy under the exarch of Ravenna, 349. Diſgrace and death of Beliſarius, 356. His death and character, 357. Comets and calamities in his reign, 360. His Code, Pandects, and Inſtitutes, viii. 1. His theological character and government, 262. His perſecuting ſpirit, 264. Died a heretic, 271.

INDEX.

Juſtinian II. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 325.
Juſtinian, the ſon of Germanus, his conſpiracy with the empreſs Sophia, and ſucceſſes againſt the Perſians, viii. 111.
Juvenal, his remarks on the crowded ſtate of the inhabitants of Rome, v. 236.

K

Khan, import of this title in the northern parts of Aſia, iv. 286. v. 176.
King, the title of, conferred by Conſtantine the Great on his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 88.
Kindred, degrees of, according to the Roman civil law, viii. 58.
Knighthood, how originally conferred, and its obligations, x. 269.
Koran of Mahomet, account and character of, ix. 126.
Koreish, the tribe of, acquire the cuſtody of the Caaba at Mecca, ix. 110. Pedigree of Mahomet, 115. They oppoſe his pretenſions to a prophetical character, 141. Flight of Mahomet, 143. Battle of Beder, 152. Battle of Ohud, 153. Mecca ſurrendered to Mahomet, 158.

L

Labarum, or ſtandard of the croſs, in the army of Conſtantine the Great, deſcribed, iii. 205.
Labeo, the civilian, his diligence in buſineſs and compoſition, viii. 18. His profeſſional character, 23.
Lactantius, difficulties in aſcertaining the date of his Divine Inſtitutions, iii. 190. His flattering prediction of the influence of Chriſtianity among mankind, 198. Inculcates the divine right of Conſtantine to the empire, 200.

Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, leads an army againſt the Turks, xi. 381. His breach of faith with them, 383.

Ladislaus king of Naples, haraſſes Rome during the ſchiſm of the papacy, xii. 160.

Lætus, prætorian præfect, conſpires the death of Commodus, and confers the empire on Pertinax, i. 127.

Laity, when firſt diſtinguiſhed from the clergy, ii. 480.

Lampadius, a Roman Senator, boldly condemns the treaty with Alaric the Goth, v. 197.

Lance, *holy*, narrative of the miraculous diſcovery of, x 299.

Land, how aſſeſſed by the Roman emperors, iii. 63. How divided by the Barbarians, vi. 279. Allodial, and Salic, diſtinguiſhed, 282. Of Italy how partitioned by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, vii. 15.

Laodicea, its ancient ſplendour, i. 65.

Laſcaris, *Theodore*, eſtabliſhes an empire at Nice, xi. 72. His character, 120.

Laſcaris, *Theodore* II. his character, xi. 124.

Laſcaris, *Janus*, the Greek grammarian, his character, xi. 359.

Latin church, occaſion of its ſeparation from the Greek church, xi. 1. Corruption and ſchiſm of, 328. Reunion of, with the Greek church, 344. The ſubſequent Greek ſchiſm, 371.

Latium, the right of, explained, i. 48.

Laura, in monkiſh hiſtory, explained, vi. 210.

Law, review of the profeſſion of, under the emperors, iii. 38.

Laws of Rome, a review of, viii. 1. Thoſe of the kings, 3. Of the twelve tables, 4. Of the people, 7. Decrees of the ſenate, and edicts of the prætors, 9. Conſtitutions of the emperors, 11. Their reſcripts, 13. The three codes of, 14. The forms of, 15. Succeſſion of civil lawyers, 16. Reformation of, by

INDEX.

Juſtinian, 25. Abolition and revival of the penal laws, 73.

Lazi, the tribe of, in Colchos, account of, vii. 284.

Le Clerc, character of his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, viii. 216.

Legacies and inheritances, taxed by Auguſtus, i. 216. How regulated by the Roman law, viii. 61.

Legion, in the Roman army under the emperors, deſcribed, i. 15. General diſtribution of the legions, 22. The ſize of, reduced by Conſtantine the Great, iii. 45.

Leo of Thrace is made emperor of the Eaſt, by his maſter Aſpar, vi. 156. Was the firſt Chriſtian potentate who was crowned by a prieſt, *ib.* Confers the empire of the Weſt on Anthemius, 157. His armament againſt the Vandals in Africa, 162. Murders Aſpar and his ſons, vii. 4.

Leo III. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 333. His edicts againſt images in churches, ix. 10. Revolt of Italy, 22.

Leo IV. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 338.

Leo V. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 346.

Leo VI. the philoſopher, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 365. Extinguiſhes the power of the ſenate, x. 35.

Leo biſhop of Rome, his character and embaſſy from Valentinian III. to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 106. Intercedes with Genſeric king of the Vandals for clemency to the city of Rome, 123. Calls the council of Chalcedon, viii. 250.

Leo III. pope, his miraculous recovery from the aſſaults of aſſaſſins, ix. 49. Crowns Charlemagne emperor of the Romans, 50.

Leo IV. pope, his reign, ix. 373. Founds the Leonine city, 376.

Leo IX. pope, his expedition againſt the Normans of Apulia, x. 144. His treaty with them, 146.

INDEX.

Leo, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, one of the reſtorers of Greek learning, x. 54.
Leo, general of the Eaſt, under the emperor Arcadius, his character, v. 317.
Leo Pilatus, firſt Greek profeſſor at Florence, and in the Weſt, his character, xi. 354.
Leo, the Jew proſelyte, hiſtory of his family, xii. 113.
Leonas, the quæſtor, his embaſſy from Conſtantius to Julian, iv. 17.
Leonine city at Rome founded, ix. 376.
Leontius is taken from priſon, and choſen emperor of Conſtantinople, on the depoſition of Juſtinian, II. viii. 326.
Leovigild, Gothic king of Spain, his character, vi. 236. Revolt and death of his ſon Hermenegild, 237.
Letters, a knowledge of, the teſt of civilization in a people, i. 289.
Lewis the Pious, emperor of the Romans, ix. 62.
Lewis II. emperor of the Romans, ix. 63. His epiſtle to the Greek emperor Baſil, x. 129.
Libanius, his account of the private life of the emperor Julian, iv. 31. And of his divine viſions, 61. Applauds the diſſimulation of Julian, 64. His character, 119. His eulogium on the emperor Valens, 335.
Liberius, biſhop of Rome, is baniſhed by the emperor Conſtantius, for refuſing to concur in depoſing Athanaſius, iii. 295. 309.
Liberty, public, the only ſure guardians of, againſt an aſpiring prince, i. 78.
Licinius is inveſted with the purple by the emperor Galerius, ii. 171. His alliance with Conſtantine the Great, 195. Defeats Maximin, 196. His cruelty, 197. Is defeated by Conſtantine at Cibalis, 202. And at Mardia, 204. Peace concluded with Conſtantine 205. Second civil war with Conſtantine, 211. His humiliation, and death, 216.
Licinius, fate of his ſon, iii. 84. Concurred with Conſtantine

in publiſhing the edict of Milan, 194. Violated this engagement by oppreſſing the Chriſtians, 201. Cæcilius's account of his viſion, 208.

Lieutenant, imperial, his office and rank, i. 83.

Lightning, ſuperſtition of the Romans with reference to perſons and places ſtruck with, ii. 82

Limigantes, Sarmatian ſlaves, expel their maſters, and uſurp poſſeſſion of their country, iii. 97. Extinction of, by Conſtantius, 156.

Literature, revival of, in Italy, xi. 350. Ancient, uſe and abuſe of, 365.

Lithuania, its late converſion to Chriſtianity, x. 124.

Litorius, count, is defeated and taken captive, in Gaul by Theodoric, vi. 78.

Liutprand, king of the Lombards, attacks the city of Rome, ix. 28.

Liutprand, biſhop of Cremona, ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, ceremony of his audience with the emperor, x. 27.

Logos, Plato's doctrine of, iii. 248. Is expounded by St. John the Evangeliſt, 250. Athanaſius confeſſes himſelf unable to comprehend it, 253. Controverſies on the eternity of, 257.

Logothete, great, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 25.

Lombardy, ancient, deſcribed, i. 27. Conqueſt of, by Charlemagne, ix. 32.

Lombards, derivation of their name, and review of their hiſtory, vii. 238. Are employed by the emperor Juſtinian to check the Gepidæ, 240. Actions of their king Alboin, viii. 93. They reduce the Gepidæ, 96. They over-run that part of Italy now called Lombardy, 101. Extent of their kingdom, 121. Language and manners of the Lombards, *ib.* Government and laws, 127.

Longinus, his repreſentation of the degeneracy of his age, i. 76. Is put to death by Aurelian, ii. 37. Is ſent

to ſuperſede Narſes, as exarch of Ravenna, viii. 100. Receives Roſamond the fugitive queen of the Lombards, 105.

Lothaire I. emperor of the Romans, ix. 62.

Louis VII. of France is reſcued from the treachery of the Greeks by Roger king of Sicily, x. 183. Undertakes the ſecond cruſade, 325. His diſaſtrous expedition, 332.

Louis IX. of France, his cruſades to the holy Land, x. 370. His death 374. Procured a valuable ſtock of relics from Conſtantinople, xi. 96.

Lucian, the ſeverity of his ſatire againſt the Heathen mythology, accounted for, i. 40.

Lucian, count of the Eaſt, under the emperor Arcadius, his cruel treatment by the præfect Rufinus, v. 122.

Lucian, presbyter of Jeruſalem, his miraculous diſcovery of the body of St. Stephen, the firſt Chriſtian martyr, v. 107.

Lucilian, governor of Illyricum, is ſurpriſed, and kindly treated by Julian, iv. 23. His death, 186.

Lucilla, ſiſter of the emperor Commodus, her attempt to get him aſſaſſinated, i. 115.

Lucius II. and III. popes, their diſaſtrous reigns, xii. 76.

Lucrine lake deſcribed, with its late deſtruction, v. 223.

Lucullan villa in Campania, its deſcription and hiſtory, vi. 187.

Lupercalia, the feaſt of, deſcribed, and continued under the Chriſtian emperors, vi. 160.

Lupicinus, the Roman governor of Thrace, oppreſſes the Gothic emigrants there, iv. 312. Raſhly provokes them to hoſtilities, 315. Is defeated by them, 317.

Luſtral contribution in the Roman empire, explained, iii. 70.

Luther, *Martin*, his character as a reformer, x. 81.

Luxury, the only means of correcting the unequal diſtribution of property, i. 70.

Lygians, a formidable German nation, account of, ii. 65.

Lyons, battle of, between the competitors Severus and Albinus, i. 157.

M

Macedonius, the Arian biſhop of Conſtantinople, his conteſt with his competitor Paul, iii. 311. Fatal conſequences, on his removing the body of the emperor Conſtantine to the church of St. Acacius, 313. His cruel perſecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 314. His exile, viii. 261.

Macrianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Valerian, his character, i. 359.

Macrianus, a prince of the Alemanni, his ſteady alliance with the emperor Valentinian, iv. 229.

Macrinus, his ſucceſſion to the empire predicted by an African, i. 182. Accelerates the completion of the prophecy, 183. Purchaſes a peace with Parthia, 273.

Madayn, the capital of Perſia, ſacked by the Saracens, ix. 213.

Mæonius of Palmyra aſſaſſinates his uncle Odenathus, ii. 29.

Mæſia, its ſituation, i. 30.

Magi, the worſhip of, in Perſia, reformed by Artaxerxes, i. 263. Abridgement of the Perſian theology, 264. Simplicity of their worſhip, 266. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 267. Their power, 269.

Magic, ſevere proſecution of perſons for the crime of, at Rome and Antioch. iv. 202.

Magnentius aſſumes the empire in Gaul, iii. 114. Death of Conſtans, 115. Sends an embaſſy to Conſtantius, 117.

INDEX.

Makes war againſt Conſtantius, 122. Is defeated at the battle of Murſa, 124. Kills himſelf, 129.

Mahmud, the Gaznevide, his twelve expeditions into Hindoſtan, x. 197. His character, 198.

Mahomet, the prophet, his embaſſy to Choſroes II. king of Perſia, viii. 188. His genealogy, birth, and education, ix. 115. His perſon and character, 117. Aſſumes his prophetical miſſion, 120. Inculcated the unity of God, 122. His reverential mention of Jeſus Chriſt, 124. His Koran, 125. His miracles, 128. His precepts, 130. His Hell, and Paradiſe, 135. The beſt authorities for his hiſtory, 138. Converts his own family, 139. Preaches publicly at Mecca, *ib.* Eſcapes from the Koreiſhites there, 143. Is received as prince of Medina, 144. His regal dignity, and ſacerdotal office, 147. Declares war againſt the infidels, 148. Battle of Beder, 152. Battle of Ohud, 153. Subdues the Jews of Arabia, 155. Submiſſion of Mecca to him, 158. He conquers Arabia, 161. His ſickneſs and death, 167. His character, 171. His private life, 174. His wives, 175. His children, 178. His poſterity, 195. Remarks on the great ſpread and permanency of his religion, 198.

Mahomet, the ſon of Bajazet, his reign, xi. 292.

Mahomet II. ſultan of the Turks, his character, xii. 1. His reign, 4. Indications of his hoſtile intentions againſt the Greeks, 5. He beſieges Conſtantinople, 11. Takes the city by ſtorm, 44. His entry into the city, 51. Makes it his capital, 54. His death, 64.

Mahometiſm, by what means propagated, ix. 313. Toleration of Chriſtianity under, 319.

Majorian, his hiſtory, character, and elevation to the Weſtern empire, vi. 137. His epiſtle to the ſenate, 138. His ſalutary laws, 139. His preparations to invade Africa, 144. His fleet deſtroyed by Genſeric, 147. His death, 149.

Malaterra, his character of the Normans, x. 141.

Malek Shah, ſultan of the Turks, his proſperous reign, x. 222. Reforms the Eaſtern calendar, 224. His death, 225.

Mallius Theodorus, the great civil honours to which he attained, iii. 39.
Mamalukes, their origin and character, x. 373. Their eſtabliſhment in Egypt, 374.
Mamæa, mother of the young emperor Alexander Severus, acts as regent of the empire, i. 198. Is put to death with him, 228. Her conference with Origen, ii. 368.
Mango, an Armenian noble, his hiſtory, ii. 116.
Man, the only animal that can accommodate himſelf to all climates, i. 421.
Mancipium, in the Roman law, explained, viii. 56.
Manichæans are devoted to death, by the edict of Theodoſius againſt heretics, v. 28.
Manuel Commenus, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 400. He repulſes the Normans, x. 184. But fails in his ſcheme of ſubduing the Weſtern empire, 187. His ill treatment of the cruſaders, x. 329.
Maogamalcha, a city of Aſſyria, reduced and deſtroyed by the emperor Julian, iv. 135.
Marble, the four ſpecies of, moſt eſteemed by the Romans, i. 233.
Marcellinus, count of the ſacred largeſſes under the emperor Conſtans in Gaul, aſſiſts the uſurpation of Magnentius, iii. 114. His embaſſy to Conſtantius, 117. Was killed in the battle of Murſa, 129.
Marcellinus, his revolt in Dalmatia, and character, vi. 150. Joins the emperor Anthemius, and expels the Vandals from Sardinia, 162. His death, 166.
Marcellinus, ſon of the præfect Maximin, his treacherous murder of Gabinius king of the Quadi, iv. 265.
Marcellus the centurion martyred for deſertion, ii. 379.
Marcellus, biſhop of Rome, exiled to reſtore peace to the city, ii. 394.
Marcellus, biſhop of Apamea in Syria, loſes his life in deſtroying the Pagan temples, v. 90.
Marcia, the concubine of the emperor Commodus, a patroneſs of the Chriſtians, ii 366.
Marcian, ſenator of Conſtantinople, marries the empreſs

Pulcheria, and is acknowledged emperor, vi. 71. His temperate refuſal of the demands of Attila the Hun, 72.
Marcianapolis, the city of, taken by the Goths, i. 327.
Marcomanni, are ſubdued and puniſhed by Marcus Antoninus, i. 313. Alliance made with, by the emperor Gallienus, 345.
Marcus, elected biſhop of the Nazarenes, ii. 231.
Mardia, battle of, between Conſtantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 204.
Margus, battle of, between Diocletian and Carinus, ii. 92.
Margus, biſhop of, betrays his epiſcopal city into the hands of the Huns, vi. 40.
Maria, daughter of Eudæmon of Carthage, her remarkable adventures, vi. 25.
Mariana, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, v. 288.
Marinus, a ſubaltern officer, choſen emperor by the legions of Mæſia, i. 317.
Marius the armourer, a candidate for the purple among the competitors againſt Gallienus, his character, i. 367.
Mark, biſhop of Arethuſa, is cruelly treated by the emperor Julian, iv. 93.
Maronga, engagement there between the emperor Julian, and Sapor king of Perſia, iv. 156.
Maronites of the Eaſt, character and hiſtory of, viii. 291.
Marozia, a Roman proſtitute, the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, of three popes, ix. 70.
Marriage, regulations of, by the Roman laws, viii. 43. Of Roman citizens with ſtrangers, proſcribed by their juriſprudence, x. 31.
Martel, Charles, duke of the Franks, his character, ix. 341. His politic conduct on the Saracen invaſion of France, 342. Defeats the Saracens, 343. Why he was conſigned over to hell-flames by the clergy, 344.

INDEX.

Martin, biſhop of Tours, deſtroys the idols and Pagan temples in Gaul, v. 89. His monkiſh inſtitutions there, vi. 197.

Martina marries her uncle, the emperor Heraclius, viii. 317. Endeavours to ſhare the Imperial dignity with her ſons, 318. Her fate, 321.

Martinianus receives the title of Cæſar, from the emperor Licinius, ii. 216.

Martyrs, primitive, an inquiry into the true hiſtory of, ii. 314. The ſeveral inducements to martyrdom, 357. Three methods of eſcaping it, 361. Marks by which learned Catholics diſtinguiſh the relics of the martyrs, 351. The worſhip of, and their relics, introduced, v. 103.

Mary, Virgin, her immaculate conception, borrowed from the Koran, ix. 124.

Maſcazel, the perſecuted brother of Gildo the moor, takes refuge in the Imperial court of Honorius, v. 139. Is intruſted with troops to reduce Gildo, *ibid.* Defeats him, 142. His ſuſpicious death, 143.

Maſter of the offices, under Conſtantine the Great, his functions, iii. 52.

Maternus, his revolt and conſpiracy againſt the emperor Commodus, i. 118.

Matthew, St. his goſpel originally compoſed in Hebrew, ii. 295. viii. 218.

Maurice, his birth, character, and promotion to the Eaſtern empire, viii. 114. Reſtores Choſroes II. king of Perſia, 156. His war againſt the Avars, 165. State of his armies, 168. His abdication and death, 173.

Mauritania, ancient, its ſituation and extent, i. 34. Character of the native Moors of, vi. 13.

Maxentius, the ſon of Maximian, declared emperor at Rome, ii. 165. His tyranny in Italy and Africa, 178. The military force he had to oppoſe Conſtantine, 182. His defeat and death, 191. His politic humanity to the Chriſtians, 393.

Maximian, aſſociate in the empire with Diocletian, his

character, ii. 96. Triumphs with Diocletian, 128. Holds his court at Milan, 130. Abdicates the empire along with Diocletian, 143. He resumes the purple, 165. Reduces Severus, and puts him to death, 166. His second resignation, and unfortunate end, 176. His aversion to the Christians accounted for, 378.

Maximilianus, the African, a Christian martyr, ii. 379.

Maximin, his birth, fortune, and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 225. Why deemed a persecutor of the Christians, ii. 369.

Maximin is declared Cæsar, on the abdication of Diocletian, ii. 156. Obtains the rank of Augustus, from Galerius, 171. His defeat and death, 196. Renewed the persecution of the Christians after the toleration granted by Galerius, 398.

Maximin, the cruel minister of the emperor Valentinian, promoted to the præfecture of Gaul, iv. 206.

Maximin, his embassy from Theodosius the younger, to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 55.

Maximus and Balbinus elected joint emperors by the senate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 239.

Maximus, his character and revolt in Britain, v. 6. His treaty with the emperor Theodosius, 9. Persecutes the Priscillianists, 28. His invasion of Italy, 39. His defeat and death, 43.

Maximus, the Pagan preceptor of the emperor Julian, initiates him into the Eleusinian mysteries, iv. 61. Is honourably invited to Constantinople by his Imperial pupil, 75. Is corrupted by his residence at court, *ib.*

Maximus, Petronius, his wife ravished by Valentinian III. emperor of the West, vi. 114. His character, and elevation to the empire, 120.

Mebodes, the Persian general, ungratefully treated by Chosroes, vii. 261.

Mecca, its situation, and description, ix. 95. The Caaba, or temple of, 109. Its deliverance from Abrahah, 116. The doctrine of Mahomet opposed there, 141. His

escape, 143. The city of, surrendered to Mahomet, 158. Is pillaged by Abu Taher, 386.
Medina, reception of Mahomet there, on his flight from Mecca, ix. 144.
Megalesia, the festival of, at Rome, described, i. 118.
Meletians, an Egyptian sect, persecuted by Athanasius, iii. 283.
Melitene, battle of, between the Eastern emperor Tiberius, and Chosroes king of Persia, viii. 144.
Melo, citizen of Bari, invites the Normans into Italy, x. 136.
Memphis, its situation, and reduction by the Saracens, ix. 265.
Merovingian kings of the Franks in Gaul, origin of, vi. 81. Their domain and benefices, 281.
Mervan, caliph of the Saracens, and the last of the house of Ommiyah, his defeat and death, ix. 347.
Mesopotamia, invasion of, by the emperor Julian, iv. 127. Described by Xenophon, 129.
Messala, Valerius, the first præfect of Rome, his high character, iii. 33.
Messiah, under what character he was expected by the Jews, ii. 226. His birth-day, how fixed by the Romans, iii. 191.
Metals, and money, their operation in improving the human mind, i. 292.
Metellus Numidicus, the censor, his invective against women, i. 199.
Metius Falconius, his artful speech to the emperor Tacitus in the senate on his election, ii. 54.
Metrophanes of Cyzicus, is made patriarch of Constantinople, xi. 373.
Metz, cruel treatment of, by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 87.
Michael I. Rhangabe, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 345.
Michael II. the Stammerer, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 349.

INDEX.

Michael III. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 354. Is defeated by the Paulicians, x. 72.
Michael IV. the Paphlagonian, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 381.
Michael V. Calaphates, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 382.
Michael VI. Stratioticus, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 384.
Michael VII. Parapinaces, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 390.
Milan, how the Imperial court of the Weſtern empire came to be transferred from Rome to that city, ii. 130. Famous edict of Conſtantine the Great in favour of the Chriſtians, publiſhed there, iii. 194. St. Ambroſe elected archbiſhop of that city, v. 31. Tumults occaſioned by his refuſing a church for the Arian worſhip of the empreſs Juſtina and her ſon, 33. Revolt of, to Juſtinian, vii. 208. Is taken and deſtroyed by the Burgundians, 215. Is again deſtroyed by Frederic I. ix. 78.
Military force, its ſtrength and efficacy dependent on a due proportion to the number of the people, i. 137.
Military officers of the Roman empire at the time of Conſtantine the Great, a review of, iii. 40.
Millenium, the doctrine of, explained, ii. 248.
Mingrelia. See *Colchos*.
Minority, two diſtinctions of, in the Roman law, v. 129.
Miracles, thoſe of Chriſt and his apoſtles, eſcaped the notice of the heathen philoſophers and hiſtorians, ii. 312. Account of thoſe wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 107.
Miraculous powers of the primitive church, an inquiry into, ii. 254.
Miſitheus, chief miniſter and father-in-law of the third Gordian, his character, i. 253.
Miſopogon of the emperor Julian, on what occaſion written, iv. 118.

Miſſorium, or great gold diſh of Adolphus king of the Viſigoths, hiſtory of, v. 275.
Moawiyah, aſſumes the title of caliph, and makes war againſt Ali, ix. 187. His character and reign, 189. Lays ſiege to Conſtantinople, 324.
Modar, prince of the Amali, ſeduced by the emperor Theodoſius, turns his arms againſt his own countrymen, iv. 353.
Moguls, primitive, their method of treating their conquered enemies, vi. 44. Reign and conqueſts of Zingis, xi. 201. Conqueſts of his ſucceſſors, 209. See *Tamerlane*.
Moguntiacum, the city of, ſurprifed by the Alemanni, iv. 226.
Mokawkas the Egyptian, his treaty with the Saracen Amrou, ix. 268.
Monarchy defined, i. 78. Hereditary, ridiculous in theory, but ſalutary in fact, 222. The peculiar objects of cruelty and of avarice under, iii. 61.
Monaſtic inſtitutions, the ſeeds of, ſown by the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 267. Origin, progreſs, and conſequences of, vi. 193.
Money, the ſtandard and computation of, under Conſtantine the Great, and his ſucceſſors, iii. 66.
Monks have embelliſhed the ſufferings of the primitive martyrs by fictions, ii. 348. Character of, by Eunapius, v. 104. By Rutilius, 140. Origin and hiſtory of, vi. 193. Their induſtry in making proſelytes, 199. Their obedience, 201. Their dreſs and habitations, 202. Their diet, 204. Their manual labour, 205. Their riches, 206. Their ſolitude, 207. Their devotion and viſions, 208. Their diviſion into the claſſes of *Cœnobites* and *Anachorets*, 210. Suppreſſion of, at Conſtantinople, by Conſtantine V. ix. 16.
Monophyſites, of the Eaſt, hiſtory of the ſect of, viii. 288.
Monothelite, controverſy, account of, viii. 272.
Monteſquieu his deſcription of the military government of the Roman empire, i. 255. His opinion that the

degrees of freedom in a ſtate are meaſured by taxation, controverted, iii. 61.

Montius, quæſtor of the palace, is ſent by the emperor Conſtantius, with Domitian, to correct the adminiſtration of Gallus in the Eaſt, iii. 136. Is put to death there, 138.

Moors of Barbary, their miſerable poverty, vii. 161. Their invaſion of the Roman province puniſhed by Salomon the Eunuch, 169.

Morea is reduced by the Turks, xii. 58.

Moroſini, Thomas, elected patriarch of Conſtantinople by the Venetians, xi. 67.

Moſeilama, an Arabian chief, endeavours to rival Mahomet in his prophetical character, ix. 204.

Moſes, the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul not inculcated in his law, ii. 246. His ſanguinary laws compared with thoſe of Mahomet, ix. 149.

Mosheim, character of his work *De rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum*, viii. 216.

Moslemah the Saracen beſieges Conſtantinople, ix. 330.

Moſtaſſem, the laſt caliph of the Saracens, his wars with the Greek emperor Theophilus, ix. 377. Is killed by the Moguls, xi. 214.

Mourzouſle, uſurps the Greek empire, and deſtroys Iſaac Angelus, and his ſon Alexius, xi. 49. Is driven from Conſtantinople by the Latins, 53. His death, 71.

Mouſa, the ſon of Bajazet, inveſted with the kingdom of Anatolia, by Tamerlane, xi. 276. His reign, 291.

Mozarabes, in the hiſtory of Spain, explained, ix. 319.

Municipal cities, their advantages, i. 47.

Muratori, his literary character, xii. 177.

Murſa, battle of, between the emperor Conſtantius, and the uſurper Magnentius, iii. 124.

Muſa, the Saracen, his conqueſt of Spain, ix. 304. His diſgrace, 308. His death, 310.

Muſtapha, the ſuppoſed ſon of Bajazet, his ſtory, x. 289.

Muta, battle of, between the forces of the emperor Heraclius and thoſe of Mahomet, ix. 165.
Mygdonius, river, the courſe of, ſtopped by Sapor king of Perſia, at the ſiege of Niſibis, iii. 110.

N

Narbonne is beſieged by Theodoric, and relieved by count Litorius, vi. 78.
Nacoragan, the Perſian general, his defeat by the Romans, and cruel fate, vii. 291.
Naiſſus, battle of, between the emperor Claudius and the Goths, ii. 11.
Naples is beſieged and taken by Beliſarius, vii. 186. Extent of the dutchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 120.
Narſes, his embaſſy from Sapor king of Perſia to the emperor Conſtantius, iii. 158.
Narſes, king of Perſia, prevails over the pretenſions of his brother Hormuz, and expels Tiridates king of Armenia, ii. 118. Overthrows Galerius, 119. Is ſurpriſed and routed by Galerius, 121. Articles of peace between him and the Romans, 126.
Narſes, the Perſian general of the emperor Maurice, reſtores Choſroes II. king of Perſia, viii. 156. His revolt againſt Phocas, and cruel death, 182.
Narſes, the eunuch, his military promotion, and diſſenſion with Beliſarius, vii. 213. His character and expedition to Italy, 333. Battle of Tagina, 337. Takes Rome, 339. Reduces and kills Teias, the laſt king of the Goths, 341. Defeats the Franks and Alemanni, 346. Governs Italy in the capacity of exarch, 349. His diſgrace, and death, viii. 99.
Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, enters into the Roman ſervice, and is made conſul, i. 354.
Navy of the Roman empire deſcribed, i. 22.
Nazarene church at Jeruſalem, account of, ii. 229.

Nazarius, the Pagan orator, his account of miraculous appearances in the ſky in favour of Conſtantine the Great, iii. 210.

Nebridius, prætorian præfect in Gaul, is maimed and ſuperſeded, by his indiſcreet oppoſition to the troops of Julian, iv. 20.

Negroes, of Africa, evidences of their intellectual inferiority to the reſt of mankind, iv. 249.

Nectarius, is choſen archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, v. 25.

Nennius, his account of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, different from that of Gildas, Bede, and Witikind, vi. 302.

Nepos, *Julius*, is made emperor of the Weſt by Leo the Great, vi. 178.

Nepotian, account of his revolt in Italy, iii. 126.

Nero, perſecutes the Chriſtians as the incendiaries of Rome, ii. 333.

Nerva, emperor, his character, and prudent adoption of Trajan, i. 99.

Neſtorius, archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, his character, viii. 234. His hereſy concerning the incarnation, 236. His diſpute with Cyril of Alexandria, 237. Is condemned, and degraded from his epiſcopal dignity, by the council of Epheſus, 240. Is exiled, 245. His death, 247. His opinions ſtill retained in Perſia, 278. Miſſions of his diſciples in the Eaſt Indies, 282.

Nevers, John count of, diſaſtrous fate of him and his party at the battle of Nicopolis, xi. 242.

Nice, becomes the capital reſidence of ſultan Soliman, ix. 230. Siege of, by the firſt cruſaders, x. 286.

Nicephorus I. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 344 His wars with the Saracens, ix. 366. His death, x. 90.

Nicephorus II. *Phocas*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 372. His military enterprizes, ix. 394.

Nicephorus III. *Botaniates*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 392. Was raiſed to the throne by ſultan Soliman, x. 228.

Nicetas, ſenator of Conſtantinople, his flight, on the

capture of the city by the Latins, xi. 57. His brief history, 60. His account of the ſtatues deſtroyed at Conſtantinople, *ibid.*

Nicholas, patriarch of Conſtantinople, oppoſes the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo the philoſopher, viii. 367.

Nicholas V. pope, his character, xi. 362. How intereſted in the fall of Conſtantinople, xii. 16.

Nicomedia, the court of Diocletian held there, and the city embelliſhed by him, ii. 131. The church of, demoliſhed by Diocletian, 381. His palace fired, 385.

Nicopolis, battle of, between ſultan Bajazet, and Sigiſmond king of Hungary, xi. 241.

Nika, the ſedition of, at Conſtantinople, vii. 66.

Nineveh, battle of, between the emperor Heraclius, and the Perſians, viii. 207.

Niſibis, the city of, deſcribed, and its obſtinate defence againſt the Perſians, iii. 109. Is yielded to Sapor by treaty, iv. 169.

Nizam, the Perſian vizir, his illuſtrious character, and unhappy fate, x. 225.

Noah, his ark very convenient for reſolving the difficulties of Moſaic antiquarians, i. 288.

Nobiliſſimus, a title invented by Conſtantine the Great, to diſtinguiſh his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 87.

Noricum, deſcribed, i. 29.

Normans, their ſettlement in the province of Normandy in France, x. 135. Their introduction to Italy, 137. They ſerve in Sicily, 139. They conquer Apulia, 140. Their character, 141. Their treaty with the pope 145.

Novatians, are exempted by Conſtantine the Great, in a particular edict from the general penalties of hereſy, iii. 243. Are cruelly perſecuted by Macedonius biſhop of Conſtantinople, 314.

Novels of Juſtinian, how formed, and their character, viii. 34.

Noureddin, ſultan, his exalted character, x. 339.

Nubia, converſion of, to Chriſtianity, viii. 302.

Numerian, the ſon of Carus, ſucceeds his father in the empire, in conjunction with his brother Carinus, ii. 81.
Numidia, its extent at different æras of the Roman hiſtory, i. 34.

O

Oaſis, in the deſerts of Lybia, deſcribed, v. 312. Three places under this name pointed out, viii. 246.
Obedience, paſſive, theory and practice of the Chriſtian doctrine of, iii. 198.
Obelisks, Egyptian, the purpoſe of their erection, iii. 152.
Oblations to the church, origin of, ii. 281.
Obligations, human, the ſources of, viii. 64. Laws of the Romans reſpecting, 65.
Odenathus, the Palmyrene, his ſucceſsful oppoſition to Sapor king of Perſia, i. 362. Is aſſociated in the empire by Gallienus, 369. Character and fate of his queen Zenobia, ii. 27.
Odin, the long reign of his family in Sweden, i. 297. His hiſtory, 321.
Odoacer, the firſt Barbarian king of Italy, vi. 183. His character and reign, 189. Reſigns all the Roman conqueſts beyond the Alps, to Euric, king of the Viſigoths, 246. Is reduced and killed by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, vii. 11.
Obud, battle of, between Mahomet and Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, ix. 153.
Olga, princeſs of Ruſſia, her baptiſm, x. 121.
Olive, its introduction into the weſtern world, i. 69.
Olybrius is raiſed to the Weſtern empire by count Ricimer, vi. 175.
Olympic games compared with the tournaments of the Goths, x. 271.
Olympiodorus, his account of the magnificence of the city of Rome, v. 217. His account of the marriage of Adolphus king of the Viſigoths, with the princeſs Placidia, 272.

Olympius, favourite of the emperor Honorius, alarms him with unfavourable ſuſpicions of the deſigns of Stilicho, v. 198. Cauſes Stilicho to be put to death, 201. His diſgrace, and ignominious death, 245.

Omar, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 121. His character, 207. His journey to Jeruſalem, 250.

Ommiyah, elevation of the houſe of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, ix. 189. Why not the objects of public favour, 345. Deſtruction of, 347.

Oracles, Heathen, are ſilenced by Conſtantine the Great, iii. 322.

Orchan, emir of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 228. Marries the daughter of the Greek emperor Cantacuzene, 233.

Ordination of the clergy in the early ages of the church, an account of, iii. 227.

Oreſtes, is ſent ambaſſador from Attila king of the Huns, to the emperor Theodoſius the younger, vi. 55. His hiſtory and promotion under the Weſtern emperors, 180. His ſon Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the Weſt, 181.

Oreſtes, prætor of Egypt, is inſulted by a monkiſh mob in Alexandria, viii. 233

Origen declares the number of primitive martyrs to be very inconſiderable, ii. 351. His conference with the empreſs Mammæa, 368. His memory perſecuted by the emperor Juſtinian and his clergy, viii. 269.

Orleans beſieged by Attila king of the Huns, and relieved by Ætius and Theodoric, vi. 88.

Oſius, biſhop of Cordova, his great influence with Conſtantine the Great, iii. 213. Prevails on Conſtantine to ratify the Nicene creed, 273. Is with difficulty prevailed on to concur in depoſing Athanaſius, 295.

Oſrhoene, the ſmall kingdom of, reduced by the Romans, i. 275.

Oſſian, his poems, whether to be connected with the invaſion of Caledonia by the emperor Severus, i. 172. Is ſaid to have diſputed with a Chriſtian miſſionary, ii. 305.

INDEX.

Oſtia, the port of, deſcribed, v. 249.
Othman, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 182.
Othman, the father of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 226.
Otho I. king of Germany, reſtores and appropriates the Weſtern empire, ix. 64. Claims by treaty the nomination of the pope of Rome, 69. Defeats the Turks, x. 103.
Otho II. depoſes pope John XII. and chaſtiſes his party at Rome, ix. 73.
Otho, biſhop of Friſingen, his character as an hiſtorian, xii. 93.
Ottomans, origin and hiſtory of, xi. 225. They obtain an eſtabliſhment in Europe, 234.
Ovid, is baniſhed to the banks of the Danube, iii. 92.
Oxyrinchus, in Egypt, monkiſh piety of that city, vi. 196.

P

Pacatus, his encomium on the emperor Theodoſius the Great, v. 50.
Pæderaſty, how puniſhed by the Scatinian law, viii. 78. By Juſtinian, 80.
Pagan, derivation and revolutions of the term, iii. 325.
Paganiſm, the ruin of, ſuſpended by the diviſions among the Chriſtians, iii. 326. Theological ſyſtem of the emperor Julian, iv. 58. General review of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment and juriſdiction of, before it was ſubverted by Chriſtianity, v. 79. Is renounced by the Roman ſenate, 85. The Pagan ſacrifices prohibited, 87. The temples demoliſhed, 88. The ruin of, deplored by the ſophiſts, 103. Pagan ceremonies revived in Chriſtian churches, 111.
Palæologus, *Conſtantine*, Greek emperor, his reign, xi. 397. Is killed in the ſtorm of Conſtantinople by the Turks, xii. 43.
Palæologus, *John*, emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 174. Marries the daughter of John Cantacuzene, 184. Takes up arms againſt Cantacuzene, and is reduced to

flight, 186, His reſtoration, 187. Diſcord between him and his ſons, 246. His treaty with pope Innocent VI. 312. His viſit to pope Urban V. at Rome, 313.

Palæologus, *John II.* Greek emperor, his zeal, xi. 326. His voyage to Italy, 331.

Palæologus, *Manuel*, aſſociated with his father John, in the Greek empire, xi. 246. Tribute exacted from him by ſultan Bajazet, 249. His treaties with Soliman and Mahomet, the ſons of Bajazet VI. 295. His viſit to the courts of Europe, 316. Private motives of his European negociations explained, 324. His death, 326.

Palæologus, *Michael*, emperor of Nice, his brief replies to the negociations of Baldwin II. emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 99. His family and character, 126. His elevation to the throne, 129. His return to Conſtantinople, 134. Blinds and baniſhes his young aſſociate John Laſcaris, 135. He is excommunicated by the patriarch Arſenius, 137. Aſſociates his ſon Andronicus in the empire, 140. His union with the Latin church, 141. Inſtigates the revolt of Sicily, 150.

Palatines, and Borderers, origin and nature of theſe diſtinctions in the Roman troops, iii. 44.

Palermo, taken by Beliſarius by ſtratagem, vii. 181.

Paleſtine, a character of, i. 32.

Palladium, of Rome, deſcribed, v. 79.

Palladius, the notary, ſent by Valentinian to Africa, to inquire into the government of count Romanus, connives with him in oppreſſing the province, iv. 241.

Palmyra, deſcription of, and its deſtruction by the emperor Aurelian, ii. 33.

Panætius was the firſt teacher of the Stoic philoſophy at Rome, viii. 21.

Pandects, of Juſtinian, how formed, viii. 28.

Panhyperſebaſtos, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.

Pannonia deſcribed, i. 29.

INDEX.

Pantheon, at Rome, by whom erected, i. 57. Is converted into a Chriſtian church, v. 91.
Pantomimes, Roman deſcribed, v. 234.
Paper, where and when the manufacture of, was firſt found out, ix. 222.
Papinian, the celebrated lawyer, created prætorian præfect, by the emperor Severus, i. 165. His death, 178.
Papirius, *Caius*, reaſons for concluding that he could not be the author of the *Jus Papirianum*, viii. 4.
Papiſts, proportion their number bore to that of the Proteſtants in England, at the beginning of the laſt century, iii. 371.
Para, king of Armenia, his hiſtory, iv. 254. Is treacherouſly killed by the Romans, 257.
Parabolani of Alexandria, account of, viii. 231.
Paradiſe, Mahomet's, deſcribed, ix. 136.
Paris, deſcription of that city, under the government of Julian, iii. 187. Situation of his palace, iv. 9.
Parthia, ſubdued by Artaxerxes king of Perſia, i. 271. Its conſtitution of government ſimilar to the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, 272. Recapitulation of the war with Rome, 273.
Paſchal II. pope, his troubleſome pontificate, xii. 74.
Paſtoral manners, much better adapted to the fierceneſs of war, than to peaceful innocence, iv. 276.
Paternal, authority, extent of, by the Roman laws, viii. 39. Succeſſive limitations of, 40.
Patras, extraordinary deliverance of, from the Sclavonians, and Saracens, x. 11.
Patricians, the order of, under the Roman republic, and under the emperors, compared, iii. 27. Under the Greek empire, their rank explained, ix. 35.
Patrick, the tutelar ſaint of Ireland, derivation of his name, vi. 187.
Pavia, maſſacre of the friends of Stilicho there, by the inſtigations of Olympius, v. 200. Is taken by Alboin king of the Lombards, who fixes his reſidence there, viii. 102.

INDEX.

Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, his character and history, ii. 372.
Paul, archbishop of Constantinople, his fatal contest with his competitor Macedonius, iii. 311.
Paula, a Roman widow, her illustrious descent, v 214. Was owner of the city of Nicopolis, 218. Her monastic zeal, vi. 199.
Paulicians, origin and character of, x. 63. Are persecuted by the Greek emperors, 68. They revolt, 71. They are reduced, and transplanted to Thrace, 74. Their present state, 77.
Paulina, wife of the tyrant Maximin, softens his ferocity by gentle counsels, i. 230.
Paulinus, master of the offices to Theodosius the younger, his crime, and execution, v. 346.
Paulinus, bishop of Nola, his history, v. 266.
Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, flies from the Lombards with his treasure, into the island of Grado, viii. 102.
Pegasians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 24.
Pekin, the city of, taken by Zingis the Mogul emperor, xi. 205.
Pelagian, controversy agitated by the Latin clergy, v. 187. And in Britain, 301.
Pella, the church of the Nazarenes settled there on the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 230.
Peloponnesus, state of under the Greek empire, x. 10. Manufactures, 13.
Penal, laws of Rome, the abolition, and revival of, viii. 73.
Pendragon, his office and power in Britain, v. 301.
Penitentials, of the Greek and Latin churches, history of, x. 252.
Pepin, king of France, assists the pope of Rome against the Lombards, ix. 31. Receives the title of king by papal sanction, 34. Grants the exarchate to the pope, 37.

INDEX.

Pepin, John, count of Minorbino, reduces the tribune Rienzi, and reſtores ariſtocracy and church-government at Rome, xii. 146.

Pepper, its high eſtimation and price at Rome, v. 242.

Perennis, miniſter of the emperor Commodus, his great exaltation and downfal, i. 116.

Periſabor, a city of Aſſyria, reduced and burned by the emperor Julian, iv. 134.

Perozes, king of Perſia, his fatal expedition againſt the Nephthalites, vii. 113.

Perſecutions, ten, of the primitive Chriſtians, a review of, ii. 364.

Perſeus, amount of the treaſures taken from that prince, i. 211.

Perſia, the monarchy of, reſtored by Artaxerxes, i. 262. The religion of the magi reformed, 263. Abridgment of the Perſian theology, 264. Simplicity of their worſhip, 266. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 267. Every other mode of worſhip prohibited but that of Zoroaſter, 270. Extent and population of the country, 272. Its military power, 281. Account of the audience given by the emperor Carus to the ambaſſadors of Varanes, ii. 79. The throne of, diſputed by the brothers Narſes and Hormuz, 118. Galerius defeated by the Perſians, 119. Narſes overthrown in his turn by Gallerius, 121. Articles of peace agreed on between the Perſians and the Romans, 126. War between Sapor king of, and the emperor Conſtantius, iii. 107. Battle of Singara, *ib.* Sapor invades Meſopotamia. 160. The Perſian territories invaded by the emperor Julian, iv. 127. Paſſage of the Tigris, 144. Julian haraſſed in his retreat, 155. Treaty of peace between Sapor and the emperor Jovian, 168. Reduction of Armenia, and death of Sapor, 250. The ſilk trade, how carried on from China through Perſia, for the ſupply of the Roman empire, vii. 77. Death of Perozes, in an expedition againſt the white Huns, 113. Review of the reigns of

Cabades, and his ſon Choſroes, 258. Anarchy of, after the death of Choſroes II. viii. 212. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of, 279. Invaſion of, by the caliph Abubeker, ix. 209. Battle of Cadeſia, 210. Sack of Cteſiphon, 213. Conqueſt of, by the Saracens, 217. The magian religion ſupplanted by Mahometiſm, 315. The power of the Arabs cruſhed by the dynaſty of the Bowides, 391. Perſia ſubdued by the Turks, x. 205. Conqueſt of, by the Moguls, xi. 212. By Tamerlane, 256.

Pertinax, his character, and exaltation to the Imperial throne, i. 128. His funeral and apotheoſis, 153.

Peſcennius, Niger, governor of Syria, aſſumes the Imperial dignity on the death of Pertinax, i. 146.

Petavius, character of his *Dogmata Theologica*, viii. 216.

Peter, brother of the Eaſtern emperor Maurice, his injurious treatment of the citizens of Azimuntium, and flight from thence, viii. 167.

Peter I. czar of Ruſſia, his conduct toward his ſon, contraſted with that of Conſtantine the Great, iii. 84.

Peter of Arragon, aſſumes the kingdom of Sicily, xi. 152.

Peter Bartholemy, his miraculous diſcovery of the Holy Lance, x. 299. His ſtrange death, 302.

Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 85.

Peter the hermit, his character and ſcheme to recover the Holy Land from the infidels, x. 241. Leads the firſt cruſaders, 260. Failure of his zeal, 298.

Petra, the city of, taken by the Perſians, vii. 286. Is beſieged by the Romans, 287. Is demoliſhed, 290.

Petrarch, his ſtudies and literary character, x. 351. And hiſtory, xii. 120. His account of the ruin of the ancient buildings of Rome, 195.

Pfeffel, character of his hiſtory of Germany, ix. 83.

Phalanx, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, i. 17.

INDEX.

Pharamond, the actions, and foundation of the French monarchy by him, of doubtful authority, v. 294.
Pharas commands the Heruli, in the African war, under Belisarius, vii. 138. Pursues Gelimer, 161. His letter to Gelimer, 162.
Pharisees, account of that sect among the Jews, ii. 246.
Phasis, river, its course described, vii. 277.
Pheasant, derivation of the name of that bird, vii. 278.
Philelphus, Francis, his character of the Greek language of Constantinople, xi. 347.
Philip I. of France, his limited dignity and power, x. 246.
Philip Augustus of France engages in the third crusade, x. 358.
Philip, prætorian præfect under the third Gordian, raised to the empire on his death, i. 255. Was a favourer of the Christians, ii. 370.
Philip, prætorian præfect of Constantinople, conveys the bishop Paul into banishment clandestinely, iii. 312.
Philippicus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 332.
Philippopolis, taken and sacked by the Goths, i. 328.
Philo, a character of his works, iii. 250.
Philosophy, Grecian, review of the various sects of, i. 39.
Phineus, the situation of his palace, iii. 5.
Phocæa, is settled by Genoese, who trade in allum, xi. 294.
Phocas, a centurion, is chosen emperor by the disaffected troops of the Eastern empire, viii. 171. Murders the emperor Maurice, and his children, 174. His character, 176. His fall, and death, 178.
Phœnicia described, i. 32.
Photius, the son of Antonina, distinguishes himself at the siege of Naples, vii. 225. Is exiled, 227.

Betrays his mother's vices to Belisarius, 228. Turns monk, 230.

Photius, the patrician, kills himself to escape the persecution of Justinian, viii. 266.

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, character of his *library*, x. 54. His quarrel with the pope of Rome, xi. 5.

Phranza George, the Greek historian, some account of xi. 325. His embassies, 399. His fate on the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, xii. 47.

Picardy, derivation of the name of that province, x. 241.

Pilate, Pontius, his testimony in favour of Jesus Christ, much improved by the primitive fathers, ii. 365.

Pilpay's fables, history and character of, vii. 265.

Pinna, marina, a kind of silk manufactured from the threads spun by this fish, by the Romans, vii. 76.

Pipa, a princess of the Marcomanni, espoused by the emperor Gallienus, i. 345.

Piso, Calphurnius, one of the competitors against Gallienus, his illustrious family and character, i. 367.

Pityus, the city of, destroyed by the Goths, i. 348.

Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, her history, and marriage with Adolphus king of the Goths, v. 272. Is injuriously treated by the usurper Singeric, after the death of her husband, 290. Her marriage with Constantius, and retreat to Constantinople, vi. 2. Her administration in the West, as guardian of her son the emperor Valentinian III. 7. History of her daughter Honoria, 84. Her death and burial, 112.

Plague, origin and nature of this disease, vii. 365. Great extent, and long duration of that in the reign of Justinian, 369.

Plato, his theological system, iii. 248. Is received by the Alexandrian Jews, 249. And expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 250. The theological system of the emperor Julian, iv. 58.

INDEX.

Platonic philoſophy introduced into Italy, xi. 361.
Platoniſts, new, an account of, ii. 151. Unite with the heathen prieſts to oppoſe the Chriſtians, 378.
Plautianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Severus, his hiſtory, i. 165.
Plebeians, of Rome, ſtate and character of, v. 229.
Pliny, the younger, examination of his conduct toward the Chriſtians, ii. 342.
Poet, laureat, a ridiculous appointment, xii. 121.
Poggius, his reflections on the ruin of ancient Rome, xii. 178.
Poitiers, battle of, between Clovis king of the Franks, and Alaric king of the Goths, vi. 266.
Pollentia, battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, v. 164.
Polytheiſm, of the Romans, its origin, and effects, i. 38. How accounted for by the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 237. Scepticiſm of the people at the time of the publication of Chriſtianity, 293. The Chriſtians, why more odious to the Pagans than the Jews, 319. The ruin of, ſuſpended by the diviſions among Chriſtians, iii. 325. Theological ſyſtem of the emperor Julian, iv. 58. Review of the Pagan eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, v. 79. Revival of, by the Chriſtian monks, 109.
Pompeianus, præfect of Rome, propoſes to drive Alaric from the walls by ſpells, v. 240.
Pompeianus, *Ruricius*, general under Maxentius, defeated and killed by Conſtantine the Great, ii. 187.
Pompey, his diſcretional exerciſe of power during his command in the Eaſt, i. 83. Increaſe of the tributes of Aſia by his conqueſts, 212.
Pontiffs, Pagan, their juriſdiction, v. 79.
Pontifex Maximus, in Pagan Rome, by whom that office was exerciſed, iii. 222.
Popes, of Rome, the growth of their power, ix. 16. Revolt of from the Greek emperors, 22. Origin of their temporal dominion, 37. Publication of the Decretals, and of the fictitious donation of Conſtantine the Great, 40. Authority of the German emperors in

their election, 67. Violent distractions in their election, 69. Foundation of their authority at Rome, xii. 68. Their mode of election settled, 101. Schism in the papacy, 157. They acquire the absolute, dominion of Rome, 172. The ecclesiastical government, 175.

Population, of Rome, a computation of, v. 235.

Porcaro, *Stephen*, his conspiracy at Rome, vi. 610.

Posthumus, the Roman general under the emperor Gallienus, defends Gaul against the incursions of the Franks, i. 340. Is killed by his mutinous troops, ii. 25.

Power, absolute, the exercise of, how checked, x. 36.

Præfect, of the sacred bed-chamber, under Constantine the Great, his office, iii. 51.

Præfects, of Rome and Constantinople, under the emperors, the nature of their offices, iii. 33. The office revived at Rome, xii. 86.

Prætextatus, præfect of Rome under Valentinian, his character, iv. 220.

Prætorian, bands, in the Roman army, an account of, i. 138. They sell the empire of Rome by public auction, 140. Are disgraced by the emperor Severus, 152. A new establishment of them, 164. Authority of the prætorian præfect, 165. Are reduced, their privileges abolished, and their place supplied, by the Jovians and Herculeans, ii. 133. Their desperate courage under Maxentius, 191. Are totally suppressed by Constantine the Great, 193.

Prætorian præfect, revolutions of this office under the emperors, iii. 29. Their functions when it became a civil office, 33.

Prætors, of Rome, the nature and tendency of their edicts explained, viii. 9.

Preaching, a form of devotion unknown in the temples of Paganism, iii. 236. Use, and abuse of, 237.

Predestination, influence of the doctrine of, on the Saracens and Turks, ix. 151.

Presbyters, among the primitive Christians, the office explained, ii. 273.
Prester, *John*, origin of the romantic stories concerning, viii. 283.
Priests, no distinct order of men among the ancient Pagans, ii. 292. iii. 223.
Priestley, Dr. the ultimate tendency of his opinions, pointed out, x. 84.
Primogeniture, the prerogative of, unknown to the Roman law, viii. 57.
Prince, of the waters, in Persia, his office, vii. 263.
Priscillian, bishop of Avila in Spain, is, with his followers, put to death for heresy, v. 28.
Priscus, the historian, his conversation with a captive Greek, in the camp of Attila, vi. 84. His character, 346.
Priscus, the Greek general, his successes against the Avars, viii. 168.
Proba, widow of the præfect Petronius, her flight from the sack of Rome by Alaric, v. 263.
Probus, assumes the Imperial dignity in opposition to Florianus, ii. 59. His character and history, 60.
Probus, prætorian præfect of Illyricum, preserves Sirmium from the Quadi, iv. 266.
Probus, *Sicorius*, his embassy from the emperor Diocletian to Narses king of Persia, ii. 124.
Procida, *John* of, instigates the revolt of Sicily from John of Anjou, xi. 152.
Proclus, story of his extraordinary brazen mirror, vii. 94.
Proclus, the platonic philosopher of Athens, his superstition, vii. 124.
Proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, their office, iii. 35.
Procopia, wife of the Greek emperor Michael I. her martial inclinations, viii. 345.
Procopius, his history, and revolt against Valens, emperor of the East, iv. 194. Is reduced, and put to death, 200. His account of the testament of the emperor Arcadius, v. 336. His account of Britain, vi. 317.

INDEX.

Character of his hiſtories, vii. 50. Accepts the office of ſecretary under Beliſarius, 135. His defence of the Roman archers, 139. His account of the deſolation of the African province by war, 308.

Proculians, origin of the ſect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 23.

Proculus, his extraordinary character, and his rebellion againſt Probus in Gaul, ii. 73.

Prodigies, in ancient hiſtory, a philoſophical reſolution of, iii. 210.

Promiſes, under what circumſtances the Roman law enforced the fulfilment of, viii. 64.

Promotus, maſter-general of the infantry under Theodoſius, is ruined by the enmity of Rufinus, v. 117.

Property, perſonal, the origin of, viii. 54. How aſcertained by the Roman laws, 55. Teſtamentary diſpoſitions of, how introduced, 60.

Prophets, their office among the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 272.

Propontis, deſcribed, iii. 7.

Proterias, patriarch of Alexandria, his martial epiſcopacy, and violent death, viii. 256.

Proteſtants, their reſiſtance of oppreſſion, not conſiſtent with the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, iii. 199. Proportion of their number, to that of the Catholics, in France, at the beginning of the laſt century, 371. Eſtimate of their reformation of Popery, x. 81.

Protoſebaſtos, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.

Proverbs, the book of, why not likely to be the production of king Solomon, vii. 165.

Provinces, of the Roman empire, deſcribed, i. 24. Diſtinction between Latin and Greek provinces, 49. Account of the tributes received from, 211. Their number and government after the ſeat of empire was removed to Conſtantinople, iii. 36.

Pruſa, conqueſt of, by the Ottomans, xi. 228.

Pruſſia, emigration of the Goths to, i. 323.

INDEX.

Pulcheria, ſiſter of the emperor Theodoſius the younger, her character and adminiſtration, v. 339. Her leſſons to her brother, 341. Her conteſts with the empreſs Eudocia, 346. Is proclaimed empreſs of the Eaſt, on the death of Theodoſius, vi. 70. Her death and canonization 155.

Purple, the royal colour of, among the ancients, far ſurpaſſed by the modern diſcovery of cochineal, vii. 74.

Pygmies of Africa, ancient fabulous account of, iv. 249.

Q

Quadi, the inroads of, puniſhed by the emperor Conſtantius, iii. 153. Revenge the treacherous murder of their king Gabinius, iv. 266.

Quæſtor, hiſtorical review of this office, iii. 53.

Queſtion, criminal, how exerciſed under the Roman emperors, iii. 59.

Quintilian brothers, Maximus and Condianus, their hiſtory, i. 116.

Quintilius, brother of the emperor Claudius, his ineffectual effort to ſucceed him, ii. 13.

Quintus Curtius, an attempt to decide the age in which he wrote, i. 414.

Quirites, the effect of that word when oppoſed to *ſoldiers*, i. 408.

R

Radagaiſus, king of the Goths, his formidable invaſion of Italy, v. 177. His ſavage character, 180. Is reduced by Stilicho, and put to death, 182.

Radiger, king of the Varni, compelled to fulfil his matrimonial obligations by a Britiſh heroine, vi. 318.

Ramadan, the month of, how obſerved by the Turks, ix. 132.

Rando, a chieftain of the Alemanni, his unprovoked attack of Moguntiacum, iv. 226.

INDEX.

Ravenna, the ancient city of, deſcribed, v. 172. The emperor Honorius fixes his reſidence there, 174. Invaſion of, by a Greek fleet, ix. 23. Is taken by the Lombards, and recovered by the Venetians, 29. Final conqueſt of, by the Lombards, *ib.* The exarchate of, beſtowed by Pepin on the pope, 38.

Raymond, of Tholouſe, the cruſader, his character, x. 266. His route to Conſtantinople, 273. His bold behaviour there, 280.

Raymond, count of Tripoli, betrays Jeruſalem into the hands of Saladin, x. 349.

Raynal, Abbé, miſtaken in aſſerting that Conſtantine the Great ſuppreſſed Pagan worſhip, iii. 321.

Rebels, who the moſt inveterate of, x. 71.

Recared, the firſt Catholic king of Spain, converts his Gothic ſubjects, vi. 238.

Reformation, from popery, the amount of, eſtimated, x. 80. A ſecret reformation ſtill working in the reformed churches, 83.

Rein-deer, this animal driven northward by the improvement of climate from cultivation, i. 285.

Relics, the worſhip of, introduced by the monks, v. 103. A valuable cargo of, imported from Conſtantinople by Louis IX. of France, xi. 96.

Remigius, biſhop of Rheims, converts Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 253.

Repentance, its high eſteem, and extenſive operation, among the primitive Chriſtians, ii. 260.

Reſurrection, general, the Mahometan doctrine of, ix. 134.

Retiarius, the mode of his combat with the ſecutor, in the Roman amphitheatre, i. 125.

Revenues, of the primitive church, how diſtributed, ii. 248. iii. 232. Of the Roman empire, when removed to Conſtantinople, a review of, iii. 61.

Rhæteum, city of, its ſituation, iii. 9.

Rhætia, deſcribed, i. 28.

INDEX.

Rhazates, the Perſian general, defeated and killed by the emperor Heraclius, viii. 207.
Rhetoric, the ſtudy of, congenial to a popular ſtate, vii. 120.
Rhine, the banks of, fortified by the emperor Valentinian, iv. 227.
Rhodes, account of the coloſſus of, ix. 262. The knights of, xi. 231.
Richard I. of England, engages in the third cruſade, x. 358. Beſtows the iſland of Cyprus on the houſe of Luſignan, xi. 13. His reply to the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, 18.
Richard, monk of Cirenceſter, his literary character, v. 414.
Ricimer, count, his hiſtory, vi. 135. Permits Majorian to aſſume the Imperial dignity in the Weſtern empire, 138. Enjoys ſupreme power under cover of the name of the emperor Libius Severus, 150. Marries the daughter of the emperor Anthemius, 159. Sacks Rome, and kills Anthemius, 177. His death, 178.
Rienzi, Nicholas di, his birth, character, and hiſtory, xii. 124.
Roads, Roman, the conſtruction and great extent of, i. 66.
Robert, of Courtenay, emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 87.
Robert, count of Flanders, his character and engagement in the firſt cruſade, x. 265.
Robert, duke of Normandy, his character and engagement in the firſt cruſade, x. 265. Recalled by the cenſures of the church, 298.
Roderic, the Gothic king of Spain, his defeat and death by Tarik the Arab, ix. 299.
Rodogune, probable origin of her character, in Rowe's Royal convert, vi. 318.
Roger, count of Sicily, his exploits, and conqueſt of that iſland, x. 155.
Roger, ſon of the former, the firſt king of Sicily, x. 177. His military atchievements in Africa and Greece, 179.

Roger, de Flor, engages as an auxiliary in the ſervice of the Greek emperor Andronicus, xi. 154. His aſſaſſination, 157.

Romanus I. Lecapenus, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 369.

Romanus II. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 371.

Romanus III. Argyrus, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 380.

Romanus IV. Diogenes, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 389. Is defeated and taken priſoner by the Turkiſh ſultan Alp Arſlan, x. 215. His treatment, deliverance, and death, 217.

Romanus, count, governor of Africa, his corrupt adminiſtration, iv. 241.

Romanus, governor of Boſra, betrays it to the Saracens, ix. 227.

Rome, the three periods of its decline pointed out, i. *Preface*. Its proſperous circumſtances in the ſecond century, 2. The principal conqueſts of, atchieved under the republic, *ib*. Conqueſts under the emperors, 4. Military eſtabliſhment of the emperors, 11. Naval force of the empire, 22. View of the provinces of the empire, 24. Its general extent, 35. The union and internal proſperity of the empire, in the age of the Antonines, accounted for, 37. Treatment of the provinces, 46. Benefits included in the freedom of the city, 48. Diſtinction between the Latin and Greek provinces, 49. Prevalence of the Greek, as a ſcientific language, 51. Numbers and condition of the Roman ſlaves, 52. Populouſneſs of the empire, 55. Unity and power of the government, 56. Monuments of Roman architecture, 57. The Roman magnificence chiefly diſplayed in public buildings, 61. Principal cities in the empire, 63. Public roads, 66. Great improvements of agriculture in the Weſtern countries of the empire, 68. Arts of luxury, 70. Commerce with the Eaſt, 71. Contemporary repreſentation of the proſperity of the empire, 74. Decline of courage and genius, *ib*. A

INDEX.

review of public affairs after the battle of Actium, 78. The Imperial power and dignity confirmed to Auguſtus by the ſenate, 81. The various characters and powers veſted in the emperor, 85. General idea of the Imperial ſyſtem, 90. Abortive attempt of the ſenate to reſume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 95. The emperors aſſociate their intended ſucceſſors to power, 97. The moſt happy period in the Roman hiſtory pointed out, 104. Their peculiar miſery under their tyrants, 105. The empire publicly ſold by auction by the prætorian guards, 140. Civil wars of the Romans, how generally decided, 158. When the army firſt received regular pay, 210. How the citizens were relieved from taxation, 211. General eſtimate of the Roman revenue from the provinces, 214. Miſeries flowing from the ſucceſſion to the empire being elective, 223. A ſummary review of the Roman hiſtory, 258. Recapitulation of the war with Parthia, 273. Invaſion of the provinces by the Goths, 326 The office of cenſor revived by the emperor Decius, 329. Peace purchaſed of the Goths, 334. The emperor Valerian taken priſoner by Sapor king of Perſia, 359. The popular conceit of the thirty tyrants of Rome inveſtigated, 365. Famine and peſtilence throughout the empire, 374. The city fortified againſt the inroads of the Alemanni, ii. 24. Remarks on the alleged ſedition of the officers of the mint under Aurelian, 42. Obſervations on the peaceful interregnum after the death of Aurelian, 49. Colonies of Barbarians introduced into the provinces by Probus, 69. Exhibition of the public games by Carinus, 84. Treaty of peace between the Perſians and the Romans, 126. The laſt triumph celebrated at Rome, 128. How the Imperial courts came to be transferred to Milan and Nicomedia, 130. The prætorian bands ſuperſeded by the Jovian and Herculean guards, 133. The power of the ſenate annihilated, 134. Four diviſions of the empire under

four conjunct princes, 138. Their expenſive eſtabliſhments call for more burdenſome taxes, 139. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire, 141. Six emperors exiſting at one time, 172. The ſenate and people apply to Conſtantine to deliver them from the tyranny of Maxentius, 181. Conſtantine enters the city victorious, 192. Laws of Conſtantine, 206. Conſtantine remains ſole emperor, 218. Hiſtory of the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, 219. Pretenſions of the biſhop of Rome, whence deduced, 279. State of the church at Rome at the time of the perſecution by Nero, 300. Narrative of the fire of Rome, in the reign of Nero, 332. The Chriſtians perſecuted as the incendiaries, 333. The memorable edicts of Diocletian and his aſſociates againſt the Chriſtians, 382. Account of the building and eſtabliſhment of the rival city of Conſtantinople, iii. 4. New forms of adminiſtration eſtabliſhed there, 21. Diviſion of the empire among the ſons of Conſtantine, 102. Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity as the national religion, 221. Tumults excited by the rival biſhops, Liberius and Fælix, 308. Paganiſm reſtored by Julian, iv. 69. And Chriſtianity by Jovian, 182. The empire divided into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, by the emperor Valentinian, 193. Civil inſtitutions of Valentinian, 207. The crafty avarice of the clergy reſtrained by Valentinian, 216. Bloody conteſt of Damaſus and Urſinus for the biſhopric of Rome, 220. Great earthquake, 273. The emperor Theodoſius viſits the city, v. 47. Inquiry into the cauſe of the corruption of morals in his reign, 74. Review of the Pagan eſtabliſhment, 79. The Pagan religion renounced by the ſenate, 85. Sacrifices prohibited, 87. The Pagan religion prohibited, 98. Triumph of Honorius and Stilicho, over Alaric the Goth, 169. Alaric encamps under the walls of the city, 212. Retroſpect of the ſtate of the city when beſieged by Hannibal, 213. Wealth of the nobles, and magnificence of the city, 217. Character of the nobles

of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 220. State and character of the common people, 229. Public diſtributions of bread, etc. 230. Public baths, 232. Games and ſpectacles, 233. Attempts to aſcertain the population of the city, 235. The citizens ſuffer by famine, 238. Plague, 239. The retreat of Alaric purchaſed by a ranſom, 240. Is again beſieged by Alaric, 249. The ſenate unites with him in electing Attalus emperor, 250. The city ſeized by Alaric, and plundered, 254. Compariſon between this event, and the ſack of Rome by the emperor Charles V. 264. Alaric quits Rome, and ravages Italy, 266. Laws paſſed for the relief of Rome, and Italy, 275. Triumph of Honorius for the reduction of Spain by Wallia, 293. Is preſerved from the hands of Attila by a ranſom, vi. 107. Indications of the ruin of the empire, at the death of Valentinian III. 116. Sack of the city by Genſeric king of the Vandals, 123. The public buildings of, protected from depredation by the laws of Majorian, 142. Is ſacked again by the patrician Ricimer, 177. Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the Weſt, 181. The decay of the Roman ſpirit remarked, 188. Hiſtory of monaſtic inſtitutions in, 196. General obſervations on the hiſtory of the Roman empire, 321. Italy conquered by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, vii. 11. Proſperity of the city under his government, 24. Account of the four factions in the circus, 62. Firſt introduction of ſilk among the Romans, 74. The office of conſul ſuppreſſed by Juſtinian, 126. The city receives Beliſarius, 191. Siege of, by the Goths, 192. Diſtreſsful ſiege of, by Totila the Goth, 317. Is taken, 321. Is recovered by Beliſarius, 324. Is again taken by Totila, 329. Is taken by the eunuch Narſes, 339. Extinction of the ſenate, 341. The city degraded to the ſecond rank under the exarchs of Ravenna, 350. A review of the Roman laws, viii. 1. Extent of the dutchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 119. Miſerable ſtate of the city, 129. Pontificate of Gregory the Great, 134.

INDEX.

The government of the city new modelled under the popes, after their revolt from the Greek emperors, ix. 25. Is attacked by the Lombards, and delivered by king Pèpin, 29. The office and rank of exarchs and patricians explained, 35. Reception of Charlemagne by pope Adrian I. 36. Origin of the temporal power of the popes, 37. Mode of electing a pope, 68. Is menaced by the Saracens, 371. Proſperous pontificate of Leo IV. 373. Is beſieged and taken by the emperor Henri III. x. 172. Great part of the city burnt by Robert Guiſcard, in the cauſe of pope Gregory VII. 173. The hiſtory of, reſumed, after the capture of Conſtantinople by the Turks, xii. 65. French and German emperors of, 66. Authority of the popes, 68. Reſtoration of the republican form of government, 83. Office of ſenator, 88. Wars againſt the neighbouring cities, 98. Inſtitution of the Jubilee, 109. Revolution in the city, by the tribune Rienzi, 124. Calamities flowing from the ſchiſm of the papacy, 159. Statutes and government of the city, 166. Porcaro's conſpiracy, 169. The eccleſiaſtical government of, 175. Reflections of Poggius on the ruin of the city, 178. Four principal cauſes of its ruin ſpecified, 182. The Coliſeum of Titus, 196. Reſtoration and ornaments of the city, 203.

Romilda, the betrayer of Friuli to the Avars, her cruel treatment by them, viii. 189.

Roſamond, daughter of Cunimund king of the Gepidæ, her marriage with Alboin king of the Lombards, viii. 94. Conſpires his murder, 103. Her flight and death, 105.

Roum, the Seljukian kingdom of, formed, x. 230.

Rudbeck, Olaus, ſummary abridgment of the argument in his *Atlantica*, i. 288.

Rufinus, the confidential miniſter of the emperor Theodoſius the Great, ſtimulates his cruelty againſt Theſſalonica, v. 57. His character and adminiſtration, 116. His death, 129.

Rugilas the Hun, his ſettlement in Hungary, vi. 31.
Runic characters, the antiquity of, traced, i. 289.
Ruſſia, origin of the monarchy of, x. 105. Geography and trade of, 108. Naval expeditions of the Ruſſians againſt Conſtantinople, 111. Reign of the czar Swatoſlaus, 116. The Ruſſians converted to Chriſtianity, 120. Is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 215.
Ruſtan, a Perſian nobleman, a ſaying of his, expreſſive of the danger of living under deſpots, i. 106.
Rutilius, his character of the monks of Capraria, v. 140.

S

Sabellius, the hereſiarch, his opinions afterward adopted by his antagoniſts, iii. 257. His doctrine of the Trinity, 260. The Sabellians unite with the Tritheiſts at the council of Nice to overpower the Arians, 262.
Sabians, their aſtronomical mythology, ix. 112.
Sabinian, obtains the command of the Eaſtern provinces from Conſtantius, iii. 166.
Sabinian, general of the Eaſt, is defeated by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth king of Italy, vii. 20.
Sabinians, origin of the ſect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 23.
Sadducees, account of that ſect among the Jews, ii. 246.
Saladin, his birth, promotion, and character, x. 344. Conquers the kingdom of Jeruſalem, 351. His ineffectual ſiege of Tyre, 354. Siege of Acre, 356. His negociations with Richard I. of England, 361. His death, 363.
Salerno, account of the medical ſchool of, x. 153.
Salic laws, hiſtory of, vi. 272.
Salluſt, the præfect, and friend of the emperor Julian, declines the offer of the diadem on his death, iv. 164. Declines it again, on the death of Jovian, 188. Is retained in his employment by the emperor Valentinian, 183.

INDEX.

Salluſt, the hiſtorian, by what funds he raiſed his palace on the Quirinal hill, v. 261.
Salona, the retreat of the emperor Diocletian, deſcribed, ii. 146.
Salvian, his account of the diſtreſs and rebellion of the Bagaudæ, vi. 160.
Samanides, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 389.
Samaritans, perſecution and extinction of, by the emperor Juſtinian, viii. 267.
Samuel the prophet, his aſhes conveyed to Conſtantinople, v. 105.
Sapor, king of Perſia, procures the aſſaſſination of Choſroes king of Armenia, and ſeizes the country, i. 357. Defeats the emperor Valerian, and takes him priſoner, 359. Sets up Cyriades as ſucceſſor to Valerian in the Roman empire, 360. Over-runs Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, *ibid.* His death, ii. 35.
Sapor, the ſon of Hormouz, is crowned king of Perſia before his birth, iii. 103. His character and early heroiſm, 104. Haraſſes the eaſtern provinces of the Roman empire, 107. Battle of Singara, againſt the emperor Conſtantius, *ib.* His ſon brutally killed by Conſtantius, 109. His ſeveral attempts on Niſibis, *ib.* Concludes a truce with Conſtantius, 112. His haughty propoſitions to Conſtantius, 158. Invades Meſopotamia, 160. Reduces Amida, 162. Returns home, 165. His peaceful overtures to the emperor Julian, iv. 112. His conſternation at the ſucceſſes of Julian, 148. Haraſſes the retreat of the Romans, 155. His treaty with the emperor Jovian, 168. His reduction of Armenia, and death, 251.
Saracen, various definitions of that appellation, ix. 99.
Saracens, ſucceſſions of the caliphs of, ix. 180. Their rapid conqueſts, 208. Conqueſt of Perſia, 217. Siege of Damaſcus, 227. Battle of Yermuck, and conqueſt of Syria, 246. Of Egypt, 262. Invaſions of Africa, 280. Their military character, x. 43.

INDEX.

Sarbar, the Perſian general, joins the Avars in beſieging Conſtantinople, viii. 202. Revolts to the emperor Heraclius, 206.
Sardinia, expulſion of the Vandals from, by Marcellinus, vi. 163. Is conquered by Zano, the brother of Gelimer king of the Vandals, vii. 153. Is ſurrendered to Beliſarius, 158.
Sarmatians, memorable defeat of, by the emperor Carus, ii. 78. Their manners deſcribed, iii. 90. Brief hiſtory of, 92. They apply to Conſtantine the Great for aſſiſtance againſt the Goths, 93. Are expelled their country by the Limigantes, 96. Are reſtored by Conſtantius, 157.
Savage manners, a brief view of, i. 293. Are more uniform than thoſe of civiliſed nations, iv. 276.
Sarus the Goth plunders the camp of Stilicho, and drives him into the hands of the emperor at Ravenna, v. 201. Inſults Alaric, and occaſions the ſacking of Rome, 255. Is killed by Adolphus king of the Viſigoths, 285.
Saturninus, one of the competitors for empire againſt Gallienus, his obſervation on his inveſtiture, i. 368.
Saturninus, lieutenant under the emperor Probus, in the Eaſt, is driven into rebellion by his troops, ii. 72.
Saxons, ancient, an account of, iv. 230. Their piratical confederations, 231. Their invaſions of Gaul checked by the Romans, 232. How converted to Chriſtianity, vi. 217. Deſcent of the Saxons on Britain, 300. Their brutal deſolation of the country, 310.
Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, his hiſtory, xi. 391.
Scatinian law of the Romans, account of, viii. 78.
Scaurus, the patrician family of, how reduced under the emperors, iii. 28.
Schiſm in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 235.
Science reducible to four claſſes, ix. 358.
Sclavonians, their national character, vii. 241. Their barbarous inroads on the Eaſtern empire, 245. Of Dalmatia, account of, x. 88.

INDEX.

Scots, and Picts, the nations of, how diſtinguiſhed, iv. 235. Invaſions of Britain by, 237.

Scythians, this name vaguely applied to mixed tribes of barbarians, i. 356. Their paſtoral manners, iv. 275. Extent and boundaries of Scythia, 288. Revolutions of, v. 174. Their mode of war, vi. 43.

Sebaſtian, maſter-general of the infantry under the emperor Valens, his ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Goths, iv. 329. Is killed in the battle of Hadrianople, 335.

Sebaſtian, the brother of the uſurper Jovinus, is aſſociated with him in his aſſumed Imperial dignities, v. 285.

Sebaſtocrator, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.

Seez, in Normandy, the biſhop, and chapter of, all caſtrated, xii. 73.

Segeſtan, the princes of, ſupport their independency obſtinately againſt Artaxerxes, i. 272.

Segued, emperor of Abyſſinia, is with his whole court, converted by the Jeſuits, viii. 306.

Selden, his ſententious character of tranſubſtantiation, ix. 2.

Seleucia, the great city of, ruined by the Romans, i. 274.

Seleucus, *Nicator*, number of cities founded by him, i. 272.

Seljuk, Turkiſh dynaſty of the houſe of, x. 205. Diviſion of their empire, 226.

Serjeant, legal and military import of that term, xi. 37.

Severus, *Septimius*, general of the Pannonian legions, aſſumes the purple on the death of Pertinax, i. 148. His conduct toward the Chriſtians, ii. 367.

Senate, of Rome is reformed by Auguſtus, ii. 79. Its legiſlative and judicial powers, 89. Abortive attempt of, to reſume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 95. Its legal juriſdiction over the emperors, 130. Is ſubjected to military deſpotiſm, by Severus, 165. Women excluded from this aſſembly by a ſolemn law, 199. The form of a ſecret meeting, 236. Meaſures taken to ſupport the authority of the two Gordians, 237.

INDEX.

The ſenate elect Maximus and Balbinus emperors on the deaths of the Gordians, 239. They drive the Alemanni out of Italy, 343. The ſenators forbid to exerciſe military employments by Gallienus, 344. Elect Tacitus, the father of the ſenate, emperor, ii. 51. Prerogatives gained to the ſenate, by this election, 55. Their power and authority annihilated by Diocletian, 132. Amount of the coronary gold, or cuſtomary free gift to the emperors, iii. 71. The claim of Julian to the empire admitted, iv. 26. Petitions of, to the emperors, for the reſtoration of the altar of victory, v. 82. The Pagan religion renounced, 85. Debates of, on the propoſals of Alaric the Goth, 195. Genealogy of the ſenators, 214. Paſſes a decree for putting to death Serena the widow of Stilicho, 238. Under the influence of Alaric, elects Attalus emperor, 250. Trial of Arvandus, prætorian præfect of Gaul, vi. 169. Surrenders the ſovereign power of Italy to the emperor of the Eaſt, 184. Extinction of that illuſtrious aſſembly, vii. 341. Reſtoration of, in the twelfth century, xii. 83. The aſſembly reſolved into ſingle magiſtrates, 88. 166.

Serapion, his lamentation for the loſs of a perſonified deity, viii. 223.

Serapis, hiſtory of his worſhip, and of his temple at Alexandria, v. 91. The temple deſtroyed, 93.

Serena, niece of the emperor Theodoſius, married to his general Stilicho, v. 127. Is cruelly ſtrangled by order of the Roman ſenate, 238.

Severinus, St. encourages Odoacer to aſſume the dominion of Italy, vi. 184. His body, how diſpoſed of, 188.

Severus, is declared Cæſar on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, ii. 156. His defeat and death, 165.

Severus, is appointed general of the cavalry in Gaul under Julian, iii. 174.

Shepherds, and warriors, their reſpective modes of life compared, iv. 276.

INDEX.

Shiites, a ſect of Mahometans, their diſtinction from the Sonnites, ix. 183.

Siberia, extreme coldneſs of the climate, and miſerable ſtate of the natives of, iv. 290. Is ſeized and occupied by the Tartars, xi. 218.

Sicily, reflections on the diſtractions in that iſland, i. 371. Is conquered by the Saracens, ix. 369. Introduction of the ſilk manufacture there, x. 15. Exploits of the Normans there, 138. Is conquered by count Roger, 155. Roger, ſon of the former, made king of, 177. Reign of William the Bad, 189. Reign of William the Good, 190. Conqueſt of, by the emperor Henry VI. 193. Is ſubdued by Charles of Anjou, xi. 147. The *Sicilian Veſpers*, 151.

Sidonius, Apollinaris, the poet, his humourous treatment of the capitation tax, iii. 67. His character of Theodoric king of the Viſigoths in Gaul, vi. 129. His panegyric on the emperor Avitus, 134. His panegyric on the emperor Anthemius, 159.

Sigiſmond, king of the Burgundians, murders his ſon, and is canonized, vi. 260. Is overwhelmed by an army of Franks, 261.

Silentiarius, Paul, his account of the various ſpecies of ſtone and marble, employed in the church of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople, vii. 100.

Silk, firſt manufactured in China, and then in the ſmall Grecian iſland of Ceos, vii. 75. A peculiar kind of ſilk procured from the pinna marina, 76. The ſilk worm, how introduced into Greece, 80. Progreſs of the manufacture of, in the tenth century, x. 13.

Simeon, perſecutor of the Paulicians, becomes a proſelyte to their opinions, x. 69.

Simeon, king of Bulgaria, his exploits, x. 90.

Simeon, Stylites, the hermit, his extraordinary mode of life, vi. 211.

Simony, an early inſtance of, ii. 372.

Simplicius, one of the laſt ſurviving Pagan philoſophers of Athens, his writings, and character, vii. 126.

INDEX.

Singara, battle of, between the emperor Conſtantius, and Sapor king of Perſia, iii. 107. The city of, reduced by Sapor, 165. Is yielded to him by Jovian, iv. 169.

Singeric, brother of Sarus, is made king of the Goths, v. 299.

Singidunum is perfidiouſly taken by Baian, chagan of the Avars, viii. 163.

Sirmium, is perfidiouſly taken by Baian, chagan of the Avars, viii. 164.

Siroes, depoſes and murders his father Choſroes II. king of Perſia, viii. 211. His treaty of peace with the emperor Heraclius, 212.

Siſebut, a Gothic king of Spain, perſecutes the Jews there, vi. 242.

Sixtus V. pope, character of his adminiſtration, xii. 176.

Slave, ſtrange perverſion of the original ſenſe of that appellation, x. 88.

Slaves, among the Romans, who, and their condition deſcribed, i. 51.

Slavery, perſonal, impoſed on captives by the barbarous nations, vi. 283.

Sleepers, ſeven, narrative of the legendary tale of, vi. 26.

Smyrna, capture of, by Tamerlane, xi. 274.

Society, philoſophical, reflexions on the revolutions of, vi. 332.

Soffarides, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 389.

Soldiers, Roman, their obligations and diſcipline, i. 12. When they firſt received regular pay, 210.

Soliman, ſultan, conquers Aſia Minor, x. 228. Fixes his reſidence at Nice, 230. Nice taken by the firſt cruſaders, 286. Battle of Dorylæum, 288.

Soliman, the ſon of Bajazet, his character, xi. 291. His alliance with the Greek emperor Manuel Palæologus, 295.

Solomon, king of the Jews, not the author of the book which bears the name of his *Wiſdom*, iii. 389.

INDEX.

Reaſons for ſuppoſing he did not write either the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* or the *Proverbs*, vii. 165.

Solomon the eunuch relieves the Roman province in Africa, from the depredation of the Moors, vii. 169. Revolt of his troops at Carthage, 303. Is defeated and killed by Antalus the Moor, 307.

Solyman, caliph of the Saracens, undertakes the ſiege of Conſtantinople, ix. 329. His enormous appetite and death, 331.

Sonnites, in the Mahometan religion, their tenets, ix. 183.

Sopator, a Syrian philoſopher, beheaded by Conſtantine the Great, on a charge of binding the wind by magic, iii. 286.

Sophia, the widow of Juſtin II. her conſpiracy againſt the emperor Tiberius, viii. 111.

Sophia, St. foundation of the church of at Conſtantinople, vii. 96. Its deſcription, 97. Is converted into a moſch, xii. 50.

Sophian, the Arab, commands the firſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, ix. 324.

Sophronia, a Roman matron, kills herſelf to eſcape the violence of Maxentius, ii. 180.

Sortes Sanctorum, a mode of Chriſtian divination, adopted from the Pagans, vi. 265.

Soul, uncertain opinions of the ancient philoſphers as to the immortality of, ii. 242. This doctrine more generally received among the barbarous nations, and for what reaſon, 245. Was not taught by Moſes, 246. Four different prevailing doctrines as to the origin of, viii. 219.

Sozopetra, deſtroyed by the Greek emperor Theophilus, ix. 377.

Spain, the province of, deſcribed, i. 24. Great revenues raiſed from this province by the Romans, 212. Is ravaged by the Franks, 340. Review of the hiſtory of, v. 286. Is invaded by the barbarous nations, 287 The invaders conquered by Walkia king of the Goths,

292. Succeſſes of the Vandals there, vi. 10. Expedition of Theodoric king of the Viſigoths into, 132. The Chriſtian religion received there, 235. Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild, 236. Perſecution of the Jews in, 240. Legiſlative aſſemblies of, 296. Acquiſitions of Juſtinian there, vii. 172. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 56. Firſt introduction of the Arabs into the country, 295. Defeat and death of Roderic the Gothic king of, 299. Conqueſt of, by Muſa, 304. Its proſperity under the Saracens, 311. The Chriſtian faith there, ſupplanted by that of Mahomet, 318. The throne of Cordova filled by Abdalrahman, 349.

Stadium, Olympic, the races of, compared with thoſe in the Roman circus, vii. 61.

Stauracius, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 344.

Stephen, a freedman of Domitilla aſſaſſinates the emperor Domitian, ii. 342.

Stephen, count of Chartres, his character and engagement in the firſt cruſade, x. 266. Deſerts his ſtandard, 298.

Stephen, St. the firſt Chriſtian martyr, miraculous diſcovery of his body, and the miracles worked by it, v. 108.

Stephen, the Savage, ſent by the Greek emperor Juſtinian II. to exterminate the Cherſonites, viii. 330.

Stephen III. pope, ſolicits the aid of Pepin king of France, againſt the Lombards, under the character of St. Peter, ix. 31. Crowns king Pepin, 34.

Stilicho, the great general of the Weſtern empire under the emperor Honorius, his character, v. 125. Puts to death Rufinus the tyrannical præfect of the Eaſt, 129. His expedition againſt Alaric in Greece, 153. His diligent endeavours to check his progreſs in Italy, 160. Defeats Alaric at Pollentia, 164. Drives him out of Italy, 167. His triumph at Rome, 169. His preparations to oppoſe the invaſion of Radagaiſus, 178. Reduces and puts him to death, 182. Supports the claims of Alaric in the Roman ſenate, 195. Is put to death at Ravenna, 199. His memory perſecuted, 202.

Stoza, heads the revolted troops of the emperor Juſtinian in Africa, vii. 304.
Strasburgh, battle of between Julian and the Alemanni, iii. 175.
Succeſſianus defends the Roman frontier againſt the Goths, i. 348.
Suevi, the origin and renown of, i. 341.
Suicide, applauded and pitied by the Romans, viii. 85.
Sulpicius, Servius, was the higheſt improver of the Roman juriſprudence, viii. 18.
Sultan, origin and import of this title of Eaſtern ſovereignty, x. 197.
Sumnat, deſcription of the pagoda of, in Guzarat, and its deſtruction by Sultan Mahmud, x. 199.
Sun, the worſhip of, introduced at Rome by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 192. Was the peculiar object of the devotion of Conſtantine the Great, before his converſion, iii. 193. And of Julian, after his apoſtacy, iv. 69.
Suſa, the city of, taken by Conſtantine the Great, ii. 185.
Swatoslaus, czar of Ruſſia, his reign, x. 116.
Swiſs, cantons, the confederacy of, how far ſimilar to that of the ancient Franks, i. 340.
Sword, of Mars, the ſacred weapon of the Huns, hiſtory of, vi. 35.
Syagrius, king of the Franks and Burgundians, his character, vi. 249. Is conquered by Clovis, 250.
Sylla, the dictator, his legiſlative character, viii. 75.
Syllanus, the conſul, his ſpeech to the ſenate, recommending the election of the two Gordians to their approbation, i. 236.
Sylvania, ſiſter of the præfect Rufinus, her uncommon ſanctity, v. 132.
Sylvanus, general in Gaul under Conſtantius, is ruined by treachery, iii. 148.
Sylverius, pope, is degraded and ſent into exile by Beliſarius for an attempt to betray the city of Rome to the Goths, vii. 204. His death, 312.

Symmachus, his account of the Pagan conformity of the emperor Conſtantius, during his viſit to Rome, iii. 324. Pleads in behalf of the ancient Pagan religion of Rome, to the emperor Valentinian, v. 82.

Syneſius, biſhop of Ptolemais, excommunicates the preſident Andronicus, iii. 235. His extraordinary character, *ibid.* His advice to the Eaſtern emperor Arcadius, v. 155.

Synods, provincial in the primitive churches, inſtitution of, ii. 275. Nature of thoſe aſſemblies, iii. 238. See *Councils*.

Syria, its revolutions and extent, i. 32. Is reduced by Choſroes II. king of Perſia viii. 183. General deſcription of, ix. 243. Is conquered by the Saracens, 244. Invaſion of, by Tamerlane, xi. 266.

Syriac, language, where ſpoken in the greateſt purity, i. 276.

Syrianus, duke of Egypt, ſurpriſes the city of Alexandria, and expels Athanaſius the primate of Egypt, iii. 299.

T

Tabari, the Arabian hiſtorian, account of his work, ix. 209.

Tabenne, the iſland of, in upper Thebais, is ſettled with monks, by Pachomius, vi. 196.

Table, of emerald, in the Gothic treaſury in Spain, account of, v. 275.

Tacitus, emperor, his election and character, ii 52.

Tacitus the hiſtorian, his character of the principles of the portico, i. 103. The intention of his epiſodes, 260. His character as a hiſtorian, 283. His account of the ancient Germans, 289. His hiſtory how preſerved and tranſmitted down to us, ii. 52. His account of the perſecution of the Chriſtians as the incendiaries of Rome, 333.

Tactics, of Leo and Conſtantine, character of, x. 4. Military character of the Greeks, 40.
Tagina, battle of, between the eunuch Narſes, and Totila king of the Goths in Italy, vii. 337.
Taherites, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 388.
Tamerlane, his birth, reign, and conqueſts, xi. 252. His letter to Bajazet, 264. His conference with the doctors of the law, at Aleppo, 267. Defeats and takes Bajazet priſoner, 273. How kept out of Europe, 280. His triumph at Samarcand, 282. Dies on a march to China, 284. His character, 285.
Tancred the cruſader, his character, x. 268. His bold behaviour at Conſtantinople, 281.
Taraſius, ſecretary to the empreſs Irene, made patriarch of Conſtantinople, ix. 43. Preſides at, and frames the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice, *ib.*
Tarik, the Arab, his deſcent on Spain, ix. 299. Defeats and kills Roderic the Gothic king of, 301. His diſgrace, 306. 310.
Tarragona, the city of, almoſt deſtroyed by the Franks, i. 341.
Tartars, ſee *Scythians*.
Tartary, Eaſtern, conqueſt of, by Tamerlane, xi. 257.
Tatian, and his ſon Proculus, deſtroyed by the baſe arts of Rufinus, the confidential miniſter of the emperor Theodoſius, v. 117.
Taurus, the conſul, is baniſhed by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 39.
Taxes, how the Roman citizens were exonerated from the burden of, i. 211. Account of thoſe inſtituted by Auguſtus, 214. How raiſed under Conſtantine the Great, and his ſucceſſors, iii. 61.
Tayef, ſiege of, by Mahomet, ix. 162.
Teias, the laſt king of the Goths, defeated and killed by the eunuch Narſes, vii. 341.
Telemachus, an Aſiatic monk, loſes his life at Rome, in an attempt to prevent the combat of the gladiators, v. 171.

Temple, of Jeruſalem, burned, ii. 339. Hiſtory of the emperor Julian's attempt to reſtore it, iv. 83.
Temugin. See *Zingis*.
Tephrice, is occupied and fortified by the Paulicians, x. 71.
Tertullian, his pious exultation in the expected damnation of all the Pagan world, ii. 253. Suggeſts deſertion to Chriſtian ſoldiers, 268. His ſuſpicious account of two edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus, in favour of the Chriſtians, 364.
Teſtaments, the Roman laws for regulating, viii. 60. Codicils, 62.
Tetricus, aſſumes the empire in Gaul, at the inſtigation of Victoria, ii. 26. Betrays his legions into the hand of Aurelian, 27. Is led in triumph by Aurelian, 40.
Thabor, mount, diſpute concerning the light of, xi. 188.
Thanet, the iſland of, granted by Vortigern, as a ſettlement for his Saxon auxiliaries, vi. 301.
Theatrical, entertainments of the Romans, deſcribed, v. 233.
Thebæan, legion, the martyrdom of, apocryphal, ii. 470.
Theft, the Roman laws realting to, viii. 68. 74. 77.
Themes, or military governments of the Greek empire, account of, x. 6.
Themiſtius, the orator, his encomium on religious toleration, iv. 184.
Theodatus, his birth and elevation to the throne of Italy, vii. 179. His diſgraceful treaties with the emperor Juſtinian, and revolt againſt them, 182. His depoſition and death, 189.
Theodebert, king of the Franks in Auſtraſia, joins the Goths in the ſiege and deſtruction of Milan, vii. 214. Invades Italy, 215. His death, 217.
Theodemir, a Gothic prince of Spain, copy of his treaty of ſubmiſſion to the Saracens, ix. 307.
Theodora, empreſs, her birth, and early hiſtory, vii. 52. Her marriage with Juſtinian, 55. Her tyranny, 57. Her virtues, 59. Her death, 61. Her fortitude during the Nika ſedition, 71. Account of her

palace and gardens of Heræum, 103. Her pious concern for the converſion of Nubia, 302.
Theodora, wife of the Greek emperor Theophilus, her hiſtory, viii. 354. Reſtored the worſhip of images, ix. 44. Provokes the Paulicians to rebellion, x. 71.
Theodora, daughter of the Greek emperor Conſtantine IX. her hiſtory, viii. 380.
Theodora, widow of Baldwin III. king of Jeruſalem, her adventures as the concubine of Andronicus Comnenus, viii. 411.
Theodore, *Angelus*, deſpot of Epirus, ſeizes Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Conſtantinople, priſoner, xi. 87. Poſſeſſes himſelf of Theſſalonica, 88.
Theodoric, acquires the Gothic ſceptre by the murder of his brother Toriſmond, v. 129. His character by Sidonius, *ibid.* His expedition into Spain, 132.
Theodoric, the ſon of Alaric, his proſperous reign over the Viſigoths in Gaul, v. 77. Unhappy fates of his daughters, 80. Is prevailed on by Ætius to join his forces againſt Attila, 90. Is killed at the battle of Chalons, 96.
Theodoric, the Oſtrogoth, his birth and education, vii. 2. Is forced by his troops into a revolt againſt the emperor Zeno, 6. He undertakes the conqueſt of Italy, 9. Reduces and kills Odoacer, 12. Is acknowledged king of Italy, 13. Review of his adminiſtration, 15. His viſit to Rome, and care of the public buildings, 25. His religion, 29. His remorſe, and death, 41.
Theodopſiopolis, the city of, in Armenia, built, v. 350
Theodoſius, the Great, his diſtinction between a Roman prince and a Parthian monarch, iii. 73. The province of Mæſia preſerved by his valour, iv. 267. Is aſſociated by Gratian as emperor of the Eaſt, 343. His birth and character, 345. His prudent and ſucceſsful conduct of the Gothic war, 348. Defeats an invaſion of the Oſtrogoths, 355. His treaty with Maximus, v. 111. His baptiſm, and edict to eſtabliſh orthodox faith, *ibid.* Purges

the city of Conſtantinople from Arianiſm, 18. Enforces the Nicene doctrine throughout the Eaſt, 20. Convenes a council at Conſtantinople, 22. His edicts againſt hereſy, 25. Receives the fugitive family of Valentinian, and marries his ſiſter Galla, 43. Defeats Maximus, and viſits Rome, 46. His character, 47. His lenity to the city of Antioch, 53. His cruel treatment of Theſſalonica, 56. Submits to the penance impoſed by St. Ambroſe, for his ſeverity to Theſſalonica, 60. Reſtores Valentinian, 63. Conſults John of Lycopolis the hermit on the intended war againſt Eugenius, 68. Defeats Eugenius, 69. His death, 73. Procured a ſenatorial renunciation of the Pagan religion, 85. Aboliſhes Pagan rites, 87. Prohibits the Pagan religion, 97.

Theodoſius, the younger, his birth, v. 335. Is ſaid to be left by his father Arcadius, to the care of Jezdegerd king of Perſia, 336. His education and character, 341. His marriage with Eudocia, 343. His war with Perſia, 347. His pious joy on the death of John, the uſurper of the Weſt, vi. 5. His treaty with the Huns, 32. His armies defeated by Attila, 42. Is reduced to accept a peace dictated by Attila, 49. Is oppreſſed by the embaſſies of Attila, 53. Embaſſy of Maximin to Attila, 55. Is privy to a ſcheme for the aſſaſſination of Attila, 67. Attila's embaſſy to him on that occaſion, 68. His death, 70. His perplexity at the religious feuds between Cyril and Neſtorius, viii. 242. Baniſhes Neſtorius, 246.

Theodoſius III. emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 333.

Theodoſius, the father of the emperor, his ſucceſsful expedition to Britain, iv. 239. Suppreſſes the revolt of Firmus the moor, in Africa, 244. Is beheaded at Carthage, 247.

Theodoſius, patriarch of Alexandria, his competition with Gaian, how decided, viii. 296. His negociations at the court of Byzantium, 299.

Theodosius, the deacon, grandson of the emperor Heraclius, murdered by his brother Constans II. viii. 322.

Theodosius, the lover of Antonina, detected by Belisarius, vii. 225. Turns monk to escape her, 227. His death, 230.

Theodous, president of the council of Hierapolis under Constantius, his ridiculous flattery to that emperor, iv. 27.

Theophano, wife of the Greek emperor Romanus II. poisons both him and his father, viii. 372. Her connexion with Nicephorus Phocas, 373. His murder, and her exile, 376.

Theophilus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 350. His Amorian war with the caliph Motassem, ix. 377.

Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, destroys the temple of Serapis, and the Alexandrian library, v. 94. Assists the persecution of St. Chrysostom, 329. His invective against him, 334.

Theophilus, his pious embassy from the emperor Constantius to the East Indies, iii. 221.

Theophobus, the Persian, his unfortunate history, viii. 352.

Therapeutæ, or Essenians, some account of, ii. 299.

Thermopylæ, the straits of, fortified by the emperor Justinian, vii. 106.

Thessalonica, sedition and massacre there, v. 55. Cruel treatment of the citizens, 57. Penance of Theodosius for this severity, 59.

Theudelinda, princess of Bavaria, married to Autharis king of the Lombards, viii. 125.

Thibaut, count of Champagne, engages in the fourth crusade, xi. 18.

Thomas the Cappadocian, his revolt against the Greek emperor Michael II. and cruel punishment, viii. 349.

Thomas of Damascus, his exploits against the Saracens when besieging that city, ix. 233.

Thomas, St. account of the Christians of, in India, viii. 285. Persecution of, by the Portugueze, 286.

Thrace, is coloniſed by the Baſtarnæ, in the reign of Probus. ii. 70. The fugitive Goths permitted to ſettle there by the emperor Valens, iv. 308. Is ravaged by them, 318. The Goths ſettled there by Theodoſius, 358.
Thraſimund, king of the Vandals, his character, vi. 225.
Three Chaptres, the famous diſpute concerning, viii. 268.
Thundering Legion, the ſtory concerning, of ſuſpicious veracity, ii. 466.
Tiberius, is adopted by Auguſtus, i. 97. Reduces the Pannonians, 147. Reduces Cappadocia, 216. Suſpicious ſtory of his edict in favour of the Chriſtians, ii. 364.
Tiberius, is inveſted by Juſtin II. as his ſucceſſor in the empire of the Eaſt, viii. 109. His character and death 112.
Timaſius, maſter-general of the army under the emperor Theodoſius, is diſgraced and exiled under Arcadius, 311.
Timothy, the Cat conſpires the murder of Proterius archbiſhop of Alexandria, and ſucceeds him, viii. 256.
Tipaſa, miraculous gift of ſpeech beſtowed on the Catholics, whoſe tongues had been cut out there, vi. 234.
Tiridates, king of Armenia, his character and hiſtory, ii. 114. Is reſtored to his kingdom by Diocletian, 115. Is expelled by the Perſians, 118. Is reſtored again by treaty between the Romans and Perſians, 127. His converſion to Chriſtianity, and death, iii. 105.
Titus, admitted to ſhare the Imperial dignity with his father Veſpaſian, i. 99.
Togrul Beg, ſultan of the Turks, his reign and character, x. 206. He reſcues the caliph of Bagdad from his enemies, 209.
Toledo, taken by the Arabs under Tarik, ix. 302.
Toleration, univerſal, its happy effects in the Roman empire, i. 37. What ſects the moſt intolerant, 270.
Tollius, objections to his account of the viſion of Antigonus, iii. 209.
Toriſmond, ſon of Theodoric king of the Viſigoths, attends his father againſt Attila king of the Huns, vi. 91.

Battle of Chalons, 94. Is acknowledged king on the death of his father in the field, 98. Is killed by his brother Theodoric, 129.

Torture, how admitted in the criminal law of the Romans under the emperors, iii. 59.

Totila is elected king of Italy by the Goths, vii. 310. His juſtice and moderation, 313. Beſieges and takes the city of Rome, 317. Is induced to ſpare Rome from deſtruction, at the inſtance of Beliſarius, 322. Takes Rome again, 329. Plunders Sicily, 330. Battle of Tagina, 337. His death, 339.

Toulunides, the Saracen dynaſty of, ix. 390.

Tournaments, preferable exhibitions to the Olympic games, x. 271.

Tours, battle of, between Charles Martel and the Saracens, ix. 343.

Toxandria, in Germany, is overrun and occupied by the Franks, iii. 169.

Traditors, in the primitive church, who, ii. 388.

Trajan, emperor, his conqueſt of Dacia, i. 6. His conqueſts in the Eaſt, 7. Contraſt between the characters of him and Hadrian, 10. His pillar deſcribed, 62. Why adopted by the emperor Nerva, 99. His inſtructions to Pliny the younger for his conduct toward the Chriſtians, ii. 344. Deſcription of his famous bridge over the Danube, vii. 104.

Trajan, count, his treacherous murder of Para king of Armenia, iv. 256.

Tranſubſtantiation, the doctrine of, when eſtabliſhed, x. 365.

Trebizond, the city of, taken and plundered by the Goths, i. 349. The dukes of, become independent on the Greek empire, xi. 74. Is yielded to the Turks, xii. 59.

Tribigild the Oſtrogoth, his rebellion in Phrygia againſt the emperor Arcadius, v. 315.

Tribune, the office of, explained, i. 86.

INDEX.

Tribonian, his genius and character, viii. 25. Is employed by Juſtinian to reform the code of Roman laws, 28.
Trinity, the myſterious doctrine of, iii. 252. Is violently agitated in the ſchools of Alexandria, 257. Three ſyſtems of, 258. Deciſions of the council of Nice concerning, 261. Different forms of the doxology, 307. Frauds uſed to ſupport the doctrine of, vi. 232.
Tripoli, the confederacy of, cruelly oppreſſed under the government of count Romanus, iv. 241.
Triſagion, religious war concerning, viii. 259.
Troops, Roman, their diſcipline, i. 12. When they firſt received pay, 210. Cauſe of the difficulty in levying them, iii. 47. See *Jovians*, *Palatines*, and *Prætorian bands*.
Troy, the ſituation of that city, and of the Grecian camp of beſiegers, deſcribed, iii. 8.
Turin, battle of, between Conſtantine the Great and the lieutenants of Maxentius, ii. 185.
Turiſund, king of the Gepidæ, his honourable reception of Alboin the Lombard, who had ſlain his ſon in battle, viii. 93.
Turks, their origin, vii. 246. Their primitive inſtitutions, 248. Their conqueſts, 250. Their alliance with the emperor Juſtinian, 256. Send auxiliaries to Heraclius, viii. 204. They grow powerful and licentious under the Saracens, ix. 381. Terror excited by their menacing Europe, x. 92. Their military character, 96. They extend themſelves over Aſia, 196. Reign of Mahmud the Gaznevide, 197. Their manners and emigration, 202. They ſubdue Perſia, 205. Dynaſty of the Seljukians, *ib.* They invade the provinces of the Greek empire, 211. Reformation of the Eaſtern calendar, 225. They conquer Aſia Minor, 227. Their capital city, Nice, taken by the cruſaders, x. 286. The ſeat of government removed to Iconium, 325. Valour and conqueſts of Zenghi, 338. Character of ſultan Noureddin, 339. Conqueſt of Egypt, 340. Origin and hiſtory of the Ottomans, xi. 225. Their

first paſſage into Europe, 231. Their education and diſcipline, 299. Embaſſy from, to the emperor Sigiſmond, 330. Take the city of Conſtantinople, xii. 44.
Turpin, the romance of, by whom, and when written, x. 245.
Twelve Tables, review of the laws of, viii. 4. Their ſeverity, 70. How the criminal code of, ſunk into diſuſe, 73.
Tyrants, of Rome the popular conceit of the thirty inveſtigated, i. 365.
Tyre, is beſieged by Saladin, x. 355.
Tythes, aſſigned to the clergy as well by Zoroaſter as by Moſes, i. 270. Were firſt granted to the church by Charlemagne, ix. 54.

V

Vadomair, prince of the Alemanni, is ſent priſoner to Spain by the emperor Julian, iv. 15. His ſon murdered by the Romans, 225.
Valens, general of the Illyrian frontier, receives the title of Cæſar from Licinius, ii. 204. Loſes his new title and his life, 205.
Valens, the brother of the emperor Valentinian, is aſſociated with him in the empire, iv. 192. Obtains from his brother the Eaſtern portion of the empire, 193. His timidity on the revolt of Procopius, 199. His character, 204. Is baptiſed by Eudoxus, and patroniſes the Arians, 212. Is vindicated from the charge of perſecution, 214. His edict againſt the Egyptian monks, 216. His war with the Goths, 259. Receives the ſuppliant Goths into the Roman territories, 307. His war with them, 320. Is defeated and killed at the battle of Hadrianople, 333. His eulogium by Libanius, 335.
Valens, the Arian biſhop of Murſa, his crafty pretenſion to divine revelation, iii. 276.

INDEX.

Valentia, a new province in Britain, ſettled by Theodoſius, iv. 240.
Valentinian I. his election to the empire, and character, iv. 188. Aſſociates his brother Valens with him, 192. Divides the empire into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, and retains the latter, 193. His cruelty, 204. His civil inſtitutions, 207. His edicts to reſtrain, the avarice of the clergy, 216. Chaſtiſes the Alemanni, and fortifies the Rhine, 226. His expedition to Illyricum, and death, 267. Is vindicated from the charge of polygamy, 270.
Valentinian II. is inveſted with the Imperial ornaments in his mother's arms, on the death of his father, iv. 272. Is refuſed, by St. Ambroſe, the privilege of a church for him and his mother Juſtina, on account of their Arian principles, v. 33. His flight from the invaſion of Maximus, 42. Is reſtored by the emperor Theodoſius, 63. His character, *ib.* His death, 66.
Valentinian III. is eſtabliſhed emperor of the Weſt, by his couſin Theodoſius the younger, vi. 6. Is committed to the guardianſhip of his mother Placidia, 7. Flies, on the invaſion of Italy by Attila, 106. Sends an embaſſy to Attila to purchaſe his retreat, *ib.* Murders the patrician Ætius, 112. Raviſhes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 114. His death, and character, 115.
Valentinians, their confuſed ideas of the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, viii. 224.
Valeria, empreſs, widow of Galerius, the unfortunate fates of her and her mother, ii. 198.
Valerian is elected cenſor under the emperor Decius, i. 329. His elevation to the empire, and his character, 337. Is defeated and taken priſoner by Sapor king of Perſia, 359. His treatment, 363. His inconſiſtent behaviour toward the Chriſtians, ii. 371.
Vandals. See *Goths*. Their ſucceſſes in Spain, vi. 10. Their expedition into Africa under Genſeric, 12. They raiſe a naval force and invade Italy, 119. Sack of Rome, 123. Their naval depredations on the coaſts

of the Mediterranean, 153. Their converſion to the Chriſtian religion, 216. Perſecution of the Catholics, 223. Expedition of Beliſarius againſt Gelimer, vii. 141. Conqueſt of, 158. Their name and diſtinction loſt in Africa, 166. Remains of their nation ſtill found in Germany, 168.

Varanes. See *Bahram.*

Varangians, of the north, origin and hiſtory of, x. 107.

Varronian, the infant ſon of the emperor Jovian, his hiſtory, iv. 187.

Vataces, *John*, his long and proſperous reign at Nice, xi. 88. 97. His character, 121.

Vegetius, his remarks on the degeneracy of the Roman diſcipline at the time of Theodoſius the Great, v. 76.

Veii, the ſiege of that city, the æra of the Roman army firſt receiving regular pay, i. 210.

Venice, foundation of that republic, vi. 103. Its infant ſtate under the exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 119. Its growth and proſperity at the time of the fourth cruſade, xi. 20. Alliance with France, 22. Divides the Greek empire with the French, 64.

Veratius, his mode of obeying the law of the twelve tables reſpecting perſonal inſults, viii. 69.

Verina, empreſs, the widow of Leo, depoſes Zeno, vii. 4. Her turbulent life, 5.

Verona, ſiege of, by Conſtantine the Great, ii. 186. Battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, v. 168.

Verres, why his puniſhment was inadequate to his offences, viii. 75.

Veſpaſian, his prudence in ſharing the Imperial dignity with his ſon Titus, i. 97.

Veſtals, Roman; their number, and peculiar office, v. 79.

Vetranio, the Roman general in Illyricum, aſſumes the purple, and enters into an alliance with the Gauliſh uſurper Magnentius, iii. 116. Is reduced to abdicate his new dignity, 121.

Victoria, exercises the government over the legions and province of Gaul, ii. 26.
Victory, her statue and altar, in the senate house at Rome, described, v. 81. The senate petitions the Christian emperors to have it restored, 82.
Vigilantius, the presbyter, is abused by Jerom for opposing monkish superstition, v. 371.
Vigilius, interpreter to the embassy from Theodosius the younger to Attila, is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, vi. 55. Is detected by Attila, 68.
Vigilius, purchases the papal chair of Belisarius and his wife, vii. 204. Instigates the emperor Justinian to resume the conquest of Italy, 331.
Vine, its progress, from the time of Homer, i. 69.
Virgil, his fourth eclogue interpreted into a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, iii. 214. Is the most ancient writer who mentions the manufacture of silk, vii. 75.
Vitalian, the Gothic chief, is treacherously murdered at Constantinople, vii. 47.
Vitalianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Maximin, put to death by order of the senate, i. 237.
Vitellius, emperor, his character, i. 105.
Vitiges, general of the Barbarians under Theodatus king of Italy, is by his troops declared king of Italy, vii. 189. He besieges Belisarius in Rome, 191. Is forced to raise the siege, 209. He is besieged by Belisarius in Ravenna, 217. Is taken prisoner in Ravenna, 221. Conforms to the Athanasian faith, and is honourably settled in Asia, 222. His embassy to Chosroes king of Persia, 268.
Vitruvius the architect, his remarks on the buildings of Rome, vi. 235.
Vizir, derivation of that appellation, ix. 139.
Ukraine, description of that country, i. 326.
Uldin, king of the Huns, reduces and kills Gainas the Goth, v. 324. Is driven back by the vigilance of the Imperial ministers, 338.

Ulphilas, the apoſtle of the Goths, his pious labours, vi. 215. Propagated Arianiſm, 221.
Ulpian, the lawyer, placed at the head of the council of ſtate, under the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 200. Is murdered by the Prætorian guards, 205.
Voconian, law, aboliſhed the right of female inheritance, viii. 59. How evaded, 63.
Voltaire, prefers the labarum of Conſtantine to the angel of Licinius, iii. 375. His reflections on the expences of a ſiege, vi. 331.
Vortigern, king of South Britain, his invitation of the Saxons for aſſiſtance againſt his enemies, vi 301.
Vouti, emperor of China, his exploits againſt the Huns, iv. 294.
Upſal, anciently famous for its Gothic temple, i. 320.
Urban II. pope, patroniſes Peter the Hermit in his project for recovering the Holy Land, x. 242. Exhorts the people to a cruſade, at the council of Clermont, 247.
Urban V. pope, removes the papal court from Avignon to Rome, xii. 154.
Urban VI. pope, his diſputed election, xii. 156.
Urſacius, maſter of the offices under the emperor Valentinian, occaſions a revolt of the Alemanni by his parſimony, iv. 222.
Urſicinus, a Roman general, his treacherous conduct to Sylvanus in Gaul, iii. 149. Is ſuperſeded in his command over the Eaſtern provinces, 166. Is ſent back again to conduct the war with Perſia under Sabinian, 167. Is again diſgraced, *ibid.*
Urſini, hiſtory of the Roman family of, xii. 117.
Urſulus, treaſurer of the empire under Conſtantius, unjuſtly put to death by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 39.
Uſury. See *Intereſt of money*.

INDEX.

W

Walachians, the preſent, deſcendents from the Roman ſettlers in ancient Dacia, ii. 18.

Wales, is ſettled by Britiſh refugees from Saxon tyranny, vi. 308. 311. The bards of, 315.

Wallia, is choſen king of the Goths, v. 291. He reduces the barbarous invaders of Spain, 262. Is ſettled in Aquitain, 293.

War, and robbery, their difference, ix. 101. Evolutions and military exerciſe of the Greeks, x. 40. Military character of the Saracens, 43. Of the Franks and Latins, 45.

Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, his literary character, iv. 83. His labours to eſtabliſh the miraculous interruption to Julian's building the temple of Jeruſalem, 85.

Warna, battle of, between the ſultan Amurath II. and Ladiſlaus king of Hungary and Poland, xi. 385.

Werdan, the Greek general, defeated by the Saracens at Aiznadin, ix. 230.

Wheat, the average price of, under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine the Great, iv. 115.

Whitaker, Mr. remarks on his account of the Iriſh deſcent of the Scottiſh nation, iv. 236.

White, Mr. Arabic profeſſor at Oxford, character of his ſermons at Bampton's lecture, ix. 341.

Wilfrid, the apoſtle of Suſſex, his benevolent eſtabliſhment at Selſey, vi. 313.

William I. the Bad, king of Sicily, x. 189.

William II. the Good, king of Sicily, x. 190.

Windmills, the uſe of, from whence derived, xi. 104.

Wine, the uſe of, expreſsly prohibited by Mahomet, ix. 133.

Wiſdom, of Solomon, when, and by whom that book was written, iii 289.

Wolodomir, great prince of Ruſſia, marries Anne, daughter

of the emperor Romanus, x. 34. His converſion to Chriſtianity, 122.

Women, in hereditary monarchies, allowed to exerciſe ſovereignty, though incapable of ſubordinate ſtate offices, i. 198. How treated by the Roman civil laws, viii. 43. The Voconian law, how evaded, 63. Are not excluded from Paradiſe by Mahomet, ix. 137.

X

Xenophon, his deſcription of the deſert of Meſopotamia, iv. 129.

Xerxes, the ſituation of his bridge of boats for paſſing over to Europe, pointed out, iii. 7.

Y

Yermuk, battle of between the Greeks and the Saracens, ix. 246.

Yezdegerd, king of Perſia, his reign the æra of the fall of the Saſſanian dynaſty, and of the religion of Zoroaſter, ix. 211.

Yezed, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 191.

Z

Zabergan, invades the Eaſtern empire with an army of Bulgarians, vii. 351. Is repulſed by Beliſarius, 354.

Zachary, pope, pronounces the depoſition of Childeric king of France, and the appointment of Pepin to ſucceed him, ix. 34.

Zano, brother of Gelimer the Vandal uſurper, conquers Sardinia, vii. 154. Is recalled to aſſiſt his brother, *ibid.* Is killed, 156.

Zara, a city on the Sclavonian coaſt, reduced by the cruſaders for the republic of Venice, xi. 27.

INDEX.

Zenghi, ſultan, his valour and conqueſts, x. 338.
Zeno, emperor of the Eaſt, receives a ſurrender of the Imperial government of the Weſtern empire, from the ſenate of Rome, vi. 185. The viciſſitudes of his life and reign, vii. 4. His Henoticon, viii. 257.
Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, her character and hiſtory, ii. 27.
Zingis, firſt emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, parallel between him and Attila, king of the Huns, vi. 34. His propoſal for improving his conqueſts in China, 44. His birth and early military exploits, xi. 201. His laws, 202. His invaſion of China, 204. Cariſme, Tranſoxiana, and Perſia, 206. His death. 209.
Zizais, a noble Sarmatian, is made king of that nation by the emperor Conſtantius, iii. 157.
Zobeir, the Saracen, his bravery in the invaſion of Africa, ix. 283.
Zoe, firſt the concubine, becomes the fourth wife of the emperor Leo the philoſopher, viii. 367.
Zoe, wife of Romanus III. and Michael IV. emperors, viii. 382.
Zoroaſter, the Perſian prophet, his high antiquity, i. 263. Abridgement of his theology, 264. Provides for the encouragement of agriculture, 267. Aſſigns tythes to the prieſts, 269.
Zoſimus, his repreſentation of the oppreſſion of the luſtral contribution, iii. 70.
Zuinglius, the reformer, his conceptions of the Euchariſt, x. 81.
Zurich, brief hiſtory of that city, xii. 80.

THE END.

to Front Vol. II. page 22.

A MAP of the Parts of EUROPE and ASIA adjacent to CONSTANTINOPLE

44 45 46 47

41 40

EUXINE or BLACK SEA

Salmydessus

Dercon

Cyaneae Rocks

The Bosphorus

Temple of Jupiter Urius

Old Castles

New Castles

CONSTANTINOPLE

Chrisopolis

Scutari

Chalcedon

Bryas

Pantichium

Artanes

Damonnesi

Pontanus

Brunga

Nicomedia

Acritas

Lybissa

Astacus

Trarium

Heraclea

Pronectus

Drepanum or Helenopolis

Eribulum

BITHYNIA

Lake Ascanius

Nice

Soladæ

Myrlea

Hæus

Dasybium

Placia

Panormus

Cyzicus

Besbicus

Proconnesus

Ophiusa

Halone

Arlace

Priapus

Parium

Lampsacus

Percole

Sidena

Granicus R.

Æsepus R.

Zeleia

Rhyndacus R.

Lopadium

Prusa ad Olympum

Mount Olympus

MYSIA

PROPONTIS

SEA of MARMARA

Bisanthe or Rhaedestus

Perinthus or Heraclea

Selymbria

Macron-tychos or Long Wall

Cænophrurion

Melantias

Regium

Callum

Ganos

Lysimachia

Cardia

Heraclea

Hebrus R.

Ænos

Callipolis

Thracian Chersonesus

Sestus

Madytus

Abydus

Old Castles

Dardanus

Hellespont or Dardanelles

Ilium

Ruins of Troy

Mt. Ida

Scamander R.

Alexandria Troas

Tenedos I.

THRACIA PROPONTIS

Golden Horn

Blacherne

Golden Gate

Seven Towers

Galata

Pera

Port

Bosphorus

Scutari

CONSTANTINOPLE

St. Sophia

Byzantium

Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree

5 10 20 30 40

Longitude E. from Ferro

A Map of the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

Europe
Asia
Africa
Poland
Ukraine
Roxolani
Sarmatia Europæa
Sarmatia Asiatica
Tartary
Jazyges
Carpathian Mountains
Sarmatian Jazyges
The Royal Village of Attila
Dacia
inhabited by the Goths A.D. 270, by the Huns A.D. 376
Getæ
Quadi
Noricum
Pannonia
Rhætia
Vindelicia
Italia
Dalmatia
Hadriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Euxine or Black Sea
Palus or Lake Mæotis
Cimmerian Bosphorus
Bosphorus of Thrace
Bosphorus of Taurica Chersonesus
Caspian Sea
Hyrcanian Sea
Chorasmii
Alani
Caucasus Mt.
Iberia
Albania
Colchis
Armenia
Lesser Armenia
Sophene
Cappadocia
Galatia
Bithynia
Mysia
Phrygia
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Isauria
Cyprus
Crete or Candia
Macedonia
Thessalonica
Thrace
Constantinople
The Bosphorus or Thracian Strait
Hellespont
Propontis
Sea of Marmora
Archipelago
Aeolian Is.
Sicily
Syracuse
Rome
Naples
Ravenna
Venice
Aquileia
Florence
Pisa
Genoa
Milan
Turin
Vienna
Buda
Belgrade
Danube R.
Euphrates
Tigris
Mesopotamia
Assyria
Adiabene
Media
Susiana
Persia
Persian Gulf
Arabia
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Petræa
Arabia Felix
Red Sea
Arabian Gulf or Red Sea
Palestine
Jerusalem
Phœnicia
Syria
Damascus
Palmyra
Antioch
Aleppo
Babylon
Bagdad
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Royal Canal
Ecbatana or Hamadan
Ispahan
Persepolis
Susa
Nehardea
Hira
Borsippa
Remains of Babylon
Arabia Desert
Saracens the Wandering Arabs
The Arabs often assumed a licentious Privilege of encamping on the Skirts of Mesopotamia, Syria & Egypt.
Nasamones
Garamantes
Nobatæ
Æthiopia
Troglodytes
Blemmyes
Libya
Cyrene
Berenice
Ptolemais
Darnis
Derne
Syrtis Major
Zeugis
Tripolis
Leptis
Oea
Sabrata
Augila
Gelamus
Ammon
Oasis
Great Oasis
Small Oasis
Lake Mœris
Memphis
Pyramids
Heliopolis
Alexandria
Canopus
Damietta
Nile R.
Delta
Pelusium
Suez
Mt. Sinai
Arsinoe
Heracleopolis
Oxyrinchus
Lycopolis
Hermopolis
Antinoe
Thebes
Coptos
Ptolemais
Abydus
Tentyra
Hermunthis
Latopolis
Asna
Syene
Cataracts Major
Cataracts Minor
Premis
Ibrim
Napata
Meroe
Berenice
Myos Hormos
Clysma
Arabian Gulf or Red Sea
Mecca
Medina
Iatrippa
Thema
Alata
Iabris
Gerra
Tylos
Teredon
Persian Gulf
Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree
Greek Stadia of Eight to a Roman Mile
English Miles
Parasangs or Leagues of 25 to a Degree
Tropic of Cancer
40 Longitude E. from Ferro

A MAP of the WESTERN PART of the ROMAN EMPIRE.

Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree
75 150
Greek Stadia of Eight to the Roman Miles
600 1200
English Miles
50 100 200
Parasangs or Leagues 25 to a Degree
25 50 75

The Situation Names &c. of the Scythian Tribes are so changeable & uncertain that it has been thought more useful to express the modern Appellations of the Countries beyond the farthest Limits of the Roman Empire

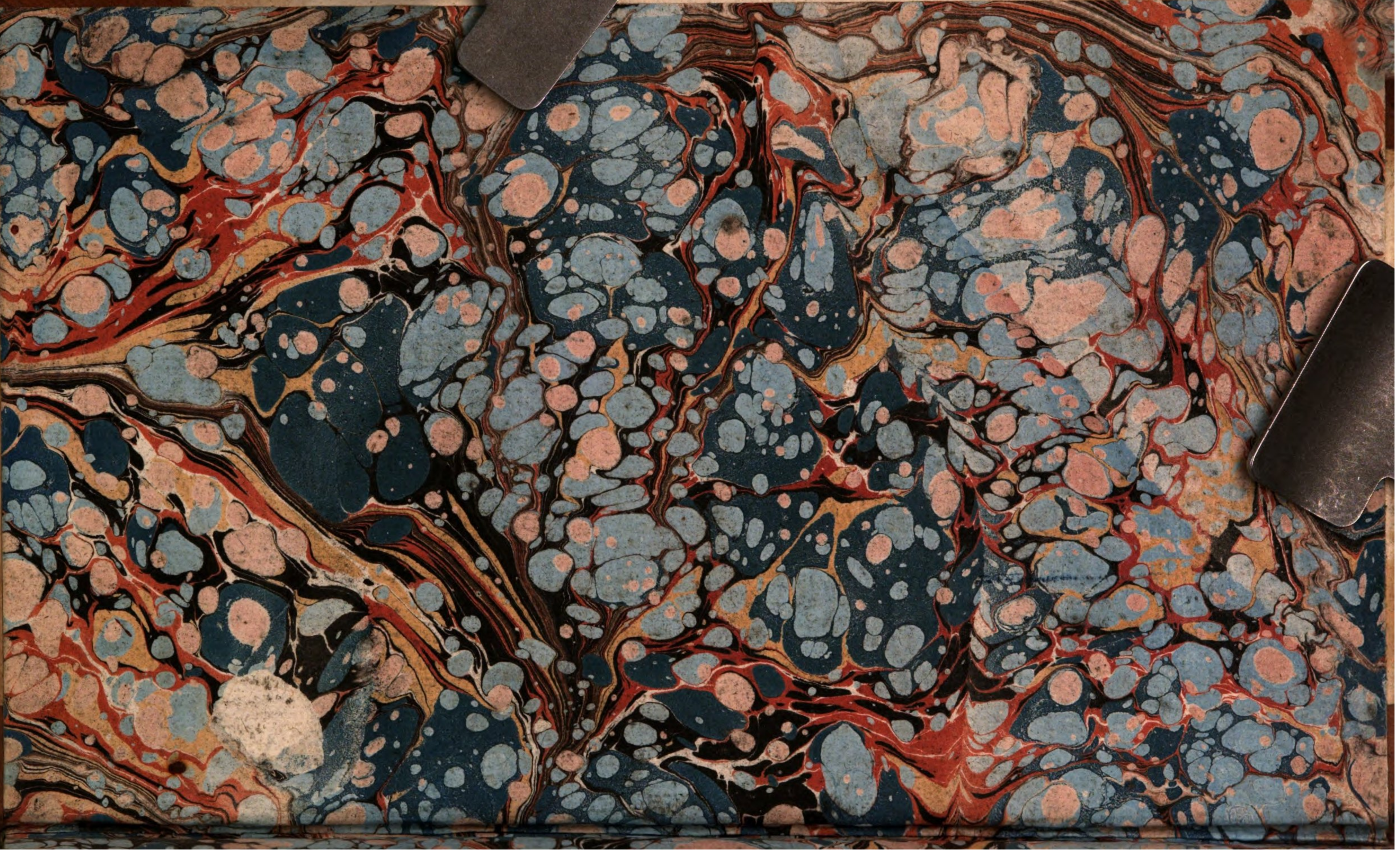
ATLANTIC OCEAN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Fortunate Islands Canaries

30 Longitude E. from Ferro

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München



BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Gibbon, Edward,

The History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire

Bd.: 12

Basil (1789)
Bibl.Mont. 2053-12
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10718581-0
VD18 80347681-001